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13 September 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1445

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN MILITARY PUBLICATION HAILS ALBANIAN ARMY DAY

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian No 7, Jul 77 p 21

[Article: "Albanian People's Army Day"]

[Text] On 10 July, workers in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania celebrated Albanian People's Army Day, honoring an important moment in the struggle waged during WWII against the fascist occupiers. Some 34 years ago, on 10 July 1943, under conditions of the improvement of the combative power of the detachments of Albanian partisans and of the expansion of the military operations carried on by them, the Communist Party created the General Staff of the National Liberation Army. As a result, the anti-fascist struggle took on a new and powerful force, the fighters of the people's army, inspired by the ideals of national and social liberation, indestructably allied with the people and benefitting from the sagacious leadership of the communists, gave strong blows to the enemy, demonstrating in abundant measure the heroism, the spirit of sacrifice and the fervent patriotism by which they were animated in the terrible but victorious fight with the fascist occupier.

In the years after the liberation, the Albanian people, under the tested leadership of the Workers Party, have advanced with determination towards the building of a new, socialist system. Working with self-sacrifice and a high patriotic spirit, the workers in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are obtaining significant achievements in the socio-economic development of the country, in the development of science and culture, and in raising the standard of living. At the same time, as a result of the constant concern on the part of the leaders of the party and state, and of the entire people, the defense capability of the country is being strengthened all the time. The Albanian People's Army, unflinching watchman over the independence and sovereignty of socialist Albania, is instructed on the current demands of the struggle and equipped with modern arms.

The soldiers of the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who are educated by the Romanian Communist Party in the spirit of friendship with the armies of all the socialist countries and of other friendly

countries, rejoice in their hearts over the achievements obtained by the Albanian people and their people's army, wishing the soldiers in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania new successes in their combat and political training and in strengthening the defense capability of their country.

CSO: 2700



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN LEADERS' MESSAGE ON ROMANIAN NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 77 p 3 AU

["On the National Holiday of Romania; Hungarian Leaders' Greetings Message"]

[Text] On the occasion of the national holiday of Romania, MSZMP Central Committee First Secretary Janos Kadar, Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi, and Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgy Lazar sent the following greetings message to Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Manea Manescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to Bucharest:

On the national holiday of Romania, the 33rd anniversary of your country's liberation, we send you and the fraternal peoples of the Socialist Republic of Romania cordial greetings and sincere good wishes on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council, and government of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian people, and ourselves.

The working people of the Hungarian People's Republic are familiar with the successes of the Romanian working people and regard the successes attained by them in socialist constructive work with sincere respect.

The interests of the Hungarian and Romanian people are mutual ones, and their objectives are identical in the building of an advanced socialist society and in the struggle waged for consolidating universal peace and international security, and for social progress. We are certain that, through joint efforts and a further intensification of our friendly cooperation, we can attain additional successes in our political, economic, and cultural relations and in all areas of life.

On the anniversary of the liberation from fascist oppression, we greet the Romanian communists and all the working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania with comradely sentiments, and express our conviction that Hungarian-Romanian friendship and cooperation between the Hungarian and the Romanian people will continue to strengthen on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On your national holiday, we wish you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and all working people of friendly Romania, further successes in the building of a socialist society.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR LEADERS CONGRATULATE ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Aug 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Comrade Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest.

Esteemed comrades: On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the national antifascist and anti-imperialist armed uprising we convey to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the government and the people of the Socialist Republic of Romania cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings.

Since its liberation from the fascist yoke Romania has covered a successful road under the leadership of the RCP and in alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist states. A formerly backward agrarian country has turned into a socialist state with an efficient industry and agriculture, whose working people are performing great feats for the implementation of the 11th RCP Congress decisions.

We are filled with joy and satisfaction over the fact that the fraternal cooperation between our parties, states and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 12 May 1972 is constantly developing and deepening. The official friendship visit of the party and state delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania led by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to our republic in June this year and the declaration signed on this occasion are of far-reaching importance for the comprehensive expansion of the relations between the SED and the RCP, between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

We are firmly convinced that the close cooperation of the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania within the framework of the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA serves the interests of both peoples and contributes to the strengthening of socialism and peace.

On the occasion of your national holiday we wish you, esteemed comrades, and all working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania new successes in establishing the comprehensively developed socialist society. We wish you, personally, best health and well-being.

[signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ROMANIAN ENVOY ADDRESSES SOFIA CELEBRATION

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Text] A festive celebration marking the 33rd anniversary of the liberation of Romania from fascist domination--the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania--was held at the Energoproekt Scientific and Designing-Research Institute in Sofia last night.

Academician Sava Gandvski, chairman of the Society for Friendship between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania, read a report on the glorious path toward building socialism travelled by the Romanian people under the RCP leadership. Speaking about the century-old ties between the Bulgarian and Romanian peoples, whose historic destiny has been interwoven with the tough but glorious struggles for national and social liberation, he emphasized that the blood shed on the Bulgarian battlefields by Russians, Romanians and Bulgarians is an invaluable historic asset for our three peoples, a sacred symbol and legacy for the present and coming generations.

In his greetings speech, Trofin Simedrea, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria, touched on the ascending development of friendship and cooperation between our two countries. He recalled that the latest examples of this were the construction works of the joint enterprise for heavy machine building in Ruse-Giurgiu and the decision to build an electric power station on the Danube River, and he also emphasized the Energoproekt working collective's contribution to this respect.

[Following set off by asterisks]

Romanian welcomes the 33rd anniversary of its liberation from fascist domination as a country with a dynamic economy confidently marching along the path toward socialism communism, a free, sovereign, and independent country. This was stated by Trofin Simedrea, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria, at a speech delivered to Bulgarian radio and television yesterday on the occasion of the national holiday of his country--23 August.

The general upsurge of socialist Romania is characterized by high growth rates in the industrial and agricultural production and national income,

intensified modernization of the economy, constantly improving territorial distribution of the production forces, fully utilizing material and labor resources, raising the efficiency of all economic activity, and improving the living standards of the people, the ambassador emphasized.

Touching on the foreign policy of his country, Trofin Simedrea emphasized that Romania is attaching particular importance to the deepening of friendship and comprehensive cooperation with all socialist countries. Romania is consistently working to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, believing that this unity is fully in keeping with the interest of each people and with the common cause of socialism. Romania is intensifying and expanding its relations with the developing countries and with all countries in the world.

After touching on the fruitful development between the RCP and the BCP, as well as between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Bulgarian People's Republic, the ambassador emphasized the decisive importance of the meetings between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Andtodor Zhivkov, which have become traditional. Each high-level meeting, he said, brings a richer meaning and opens further prospects in our relations. The constant strengthening of Romanian-Bulgarian relations based on mutual respect and benefit, and on friendly mutual assistance, are serving the building of the new system in the two countries and contributing to increasing socialism's prestige in the world.

CSO: 2200

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 1978 POLISH-SOVIET SPORTS COOPERATION OUTLINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Aug 77 p 10

[Text] A meeting of the permanent joint commission of the managers of sports organizations of Poland and the USSR was held in Warsaw. An assessment of the implementation of the plan for sports exchange for the year 1977 was made and a plan for further contacts in 1978 was agreed upon.

The commission stated that sports contacts between both countries are being tightened further--this brings benefits to both interested sides.

An important segment of cooperation is the exchange of scholars and specialists. The protocol from the 8th meeting of the permanent commission, signed in Warsaw on 26 August [1977] by the deputy chairman of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism, L. Bednarski, and the deputy chairman of the All-Union Physical Culture and Sports Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers, V. Sych, contemplates the broadening of cooperation of the physical culture institutes and the exchange of specialists in the field of biomechanics, psychology of sport, and the physical culture organizations.

A further broadening of training cooperation is also anticipated. Polish trainers of boxing, gymnastics, judo, horseriding, diving, shooting, and fencing will go to the USSR for 14-day training periods, while Soviet trainers of handball, basketball, canoeing, track and field sports, cycling, and football will come to Poland.

There will also be an exchange of observers, specialists in the production of sports equipment and construction, reporters, and employees of the physical culture department [of the government].

In 1978 our representatives will use the Soviet training centers for winter skiing-cum-firing, skiing, and speed skating, and also a representative women's basketball team; on the other hand, Soviet track and field athletes will come to Poland.

"At present, in the period preceding the Olympic Games, our cooperation possibilities are expanding considerably," stated V. Sych in a conversation with a PAP reporter. Cooperation of scholars as well as trainer and combined group exchange will contribute to a better preparation of representative teams at the Olympic Games in 1980.

Poland is one of the top partners of our international cooperation in the field of sports alongside Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Bulgaria.

An important event will be the Athletic Meet of the USSR Nations in 1979 in Moscow. We intend to invite the leading athletes of the world, a total of approximately 2,000 persons. Among them will also be Polish representatives. The athletic meet competitions will be held at installations which will be in the area of contest for Olympic medals in 1980. The competitions will take place according to the Olympic program, and the number of participants will be more or less the same as for the Olympics. For the hosts, therefore, it will be an important pre-Olympics test, and for the foreign athletes, it will be an opportunity to become familiar with the Olympic installations in Moscow.

CSO: 2600

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GREETINGS FROM BONEV--Vladimir Bonev, chairman of the National Assembly, has sent a greetings telegram to Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the great National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the occasion of the Romanian national holiday 23 August--Liberation Day. The telegram expresses most genuine greetings and wishes for a continuation of the cooperation between the two supreme representative organs in the interest of the Bulgarian and Romanian peoples. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Aug 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2200



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CRIME RATE MUCH HIGHER AMONG GYPSIES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Aug 77 p 4

[Article by Jan Komes: "More Attention Must Be Paid to Gypsy Population"]

[Text] At the beginning of this year, 185,387 gypsy inhabitants lived in the Slovak Socialist Republic, in other words they constituted 3.85 percent of the total population. Our society regards them as an integral part of the population and, by increased care, effectively helps them to get rid of the old way of life, customs and habits acquired in the past which frequently are the cause of their antisocial behavior. In the first place, it involves placing gypsy citizens who are not impaired by age or health, into a permanent work force; creating conditions for their dignified housing through gradual liquidation of shacks and unsanitary settlements; insuring the obligatory school attendance and proper training of children and youth from gypsy families.

This effort which costs a great deal of money has borne fruit. Many citizens of gypsy origin have indeed become exemplary workers in our country, a number of them have acquired advanced school education, their general living standard has substantially increased. Naturally, the granting of equal rights requires of them the fulfillment of equal obligations just as of any other citizens. Looking at the situation from this point of view, we must pay attention at the very outset to the important, persisting negative phenomenon: the crime rate among the gypsy population is many times higher than among other citizens. As we have said earlier, the citizens of gypsy origin constitute 3.85 percent of the total population. Last year, however, they accounted for 11.2 percent of persons sentenced according to law for crimes and for 15.5 percent of those sentenced for misdemeanor. While the general crime rate in Slovakia stabilized in recent years and its trend in fact showed signs of a slight decline, the crime rate among the gypsy citizens has been consistently increasing. Among the individual types of crimes for which the courts sentenced gypsy inhabitants the most frequent were crimes involving aggressiveness and violence. Of all persons sentenced last year for deliberate bodily injury and brawls, the gypsy citizens accounted for 14.7 percent, for disturbing the peace 15.7 percent and in cases of larceny even

22.5 percent. This is a serious indication that many of the gypsy citizens have still not freed themselves from the vestiges of the past--from aversion to systematic work and the logically ensuing tendency toward unearned incomes, disrespect for law and social values, for the rights and justified interests of their fellow-citizens. The primitive conditions under which part of the gypsies still lives lead to frequent conflicts and to their solution by physical violence. The share of the gypsy population in crimes against freedom and human dignity was extraordinary last year. They accounted for 50 percent of the total number of persons sentenced for robbery and their share in sexual crimes also was high. The gypsy citizens accounted for almost 25 percent of all persons sentenced for parasitism. The East Slovakia kraj alone accounted for approximately half of the total number of gypsy citizens sentenced. At the same time, particularly the share of young gypsies both in the total number of crimes committed by the gypsy population and by the juveniles in the SSR is very unfavorable.

These are serious facts from which logical conclusions must be drawn. We must categorically condemn opinions which see a stronger repression of that part of gypsy population which commits crimes as the only way out of the present situation. As the analysis of the SSR Ministry of Justice for 1976 reveals, in the criminal cases handled by the courts of the SSR, the perpetrators of crimes accounted for 31.8 percent and perpetrators of misdemeanors for 18.6 percent of sentences to unconditional imprisonment, while the corresponding figures on crimes committed by the gypsy citizens were 50.8 percent and 25.4 percent, respectively. The penalty for the crimes committed by the gypsy citizens is thus adequate to the purpose of punishment from the standpoint of its educational function and also from the standpoint of protection of the society. The punishments are in harmony with the laws and correspond to the requirements of the policy on crime.

The measures which will lead to the reduction of crime rate among the gypsy population will have to be conceived in much broader terms.

We must seriously consider and draw conclusions from the fact that children from gypsy families in Slovakia missed approximately 8 million hours of instruction during the last school year. The unexcused absences result not only in the failure to complete the basic school education, but also in the fact that many of the children who are not exposed to the sufficient educational influence of the school may become potential criminals later on. National committees and schools should pay more consistent attention to the regular school attendance especially by the children from gypsy families. When these children are growing up under the conditions of insufficient moral and educational guidance of parents, more extensive use must be made of the possibilities of institutional and preventive education.

Social counselors and social youth counselors work at the national committees. They should pay more attention to the inclusion in the production process not only of the gypsy citizens released from prison, but also to finding

jobs for young gypsies in general. Youth welfare organs should follow gypsy families more systematically and submit to the courts suggestions or proposals for ordering institutional or preventive education of gypsy children in those instances when this is inevitable in the interest of their further regular education.

A serious shortcoming which makes the solution of these problems more difficult is the unwillingness of economic organizations in general to hire gypsies and those released from prison, because of fear of their weak work morale, low qualifications, frequent absenteeism and labor turnover. As all of us recognize that labor, the permanent source of subsistence, is the fundamental prerequisite for doing away with the remnants of negative habits of the gypsy population, we must also, with certain risks in practice, support its achievement.

The rising crime rate among the gypsy population is definitely a serious problem. It can be effectively combatted, however, not only by imposing more severe punishment, but also by the consistent implementation of all sociopolitical, labor-legal, educational and cultural measures for the welfare of the gypsy population which our society has set as a goal for itself.

8973

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

BAHRO CRITICIZES SED, CALLS FOR NEW COMMUNIST PARTY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Aug 77 pp 30-32

[Unattributed article: "'This Pierces the Heart of the Party Apparatus'" -- An SED Functionary Criticizes the GDR's Socialism"]

[Text] Rudolf Bahro, SED member and economic functionary in East Berlin, is calling for the founding of a new communist party in the GDR. With his book "The Alternative," he intends to lay the theoretical foundation for a leftist opposition to the established bureaucracy of comrades. Now Eurocommunism in the East bloc as well?

Sometime this week in a one-room apartment on the third floor of the unappealing building at Streustrasse 53 in the Weissensee quarter of East Berlin, SED functionary Rudolf Bahro can expect to be picked up by the State Security Service.

The State Security officials are interested in a 438-page manuscript written by Bahro. It contains explosive political contraband: the harshest attack on GDR socialism so far by a seemingly loyal comrade.

Parts of the manuscript had already come to the attention of the party apparatus 10 months ago, but a search for the author was unsuccessful.

Now he is coming forward, for communist Bahro -- an SED member for 23 years, trained philosopher, party propagandist and now, at 41, department head for scientific labor organization at the Berlin Rubber Combine VEB -- has completed his literary work. The result will be published on 5 September in the Federal Republic -- to the particular annoyance of the SED, not in a bourgeois series but by the publishing house of the German Labor Union Federation.\*

Bahro's work documents how the fungus of Eurocommunism, feared more than cold war and reaction by the socialist parties of Eastern Europe, has now worked its way into the GDR.

Bahro reproaches the Soviet variety of communism, also practiced by East Berlin, for the following failings:

For having established a "despotism of industrialization" instead of abolishing domination and exploitation as Marx strove to do;

For playing the role of "deputy extraordinary of the capitalist exploiter class" while in position as head of the state apparatus;

For working not to overcome but to perpetuate an "advanced class society";

For leaving progressive Marxists no choice but to organize illegally as a new "League of Communists."

If these theses had been presented by a Western Marxist, the SED could casually dismiss them as the unknowledgeable chatter of political dilettantes, as is customary in such cases. But the fact that these are the words of a man who is judging the system from within, and of whom no party ideologist can say he knows not whereof he speaks, makes of the Bahro text an explosive charge.

At last the GDR leaders must now acknowledge that their most dangerous critics are growing up within the party itself, in the ranks of their own ideologists who no longer intend to let themselves be reduced to the level of obedient propaganda specialists.

Bahro is symptomatic of this development. With him, for the first time it is not a professor like Robert Havemann nor an artist like Wolf Biermann, Reiner Kunze or Jurek Becker who has served notice of his allegiance to the proponents of socialist unity; on the contrary, it is one of those hitherto nameless social scientists and economic functionaries who were considered the most reliable mainstays of the regime.

And also in contrast to most of the dissidents before him, Bahro does not use moral arguments in his criticism of the GDR. He has not broken with Marxism; according to his analysis there is no perspective other than the communist one. What he is demanding is not the observance of human rights but the realization of socialism as understood by its classic proponents: as a universal emancipation of man in the unhindered development of his individuality.

\* Rudolf Bahro, "The Alternative -- A Critique of Socialism as It Exists Today," European Publishing House, Cologne, 548 pp, DM 34.

In this regard Bahro is harking back to a tradition that seemed to have long been buried in the GDR, for once before the SED has had to put up with a systematic confrontation between its "real" socialism and the spirit of classic Marxism. This was in the mid-1950's when scholars like Ernst Bloch, Wolfgang Harich and Robert Havemann -- regime intellectuals on display until then -- put the GDR government at bay ideologically with criticism of Stalinist errors and a demand for bourgeois freedoms.

The party apparatus successfully defended itself against the heretics: Bloch went to the West, Harich was imprisoned and Havemann was silenced.

At that time, however, the CPSU's ideological monopoly and its German following were largely still intact. Bahro hopes that today, in contrast, the SED is no longer in a position to evade a substantive debate with him -- no matter what repressive measures they may take against him personally. "I have written a book," he believes, "against which the political police will be powerless because it pierces the heart of the party apparatus."

He is at least certain of the surprise effect of his thrust, for he owes the fact that he remained unknown until the end not only to clever camouflage. For the SED, Bahro is practically an unknown quantity, a loyal party member who hitherto had been conspicuous more for his overzealous naivete.

It was "clearly idealism" that influenced him to become a candidate as young as 16 years of age and a full member of the SED at 18. It was also idealism that brought him to the attention of the authorities for the first time in an unpleasant way. While a student of philosophy at Humboldt University in 1956, he put up a wall newspaper on the institute's bulletin board demanding of his party management an explanation of events in Hungary -- 1 day before Soviet tanks rolled over the popular uprising in Budapest.

The aspiring young communist was forgiven this blunder. In 1959, the year GDR agriculture was fully collectivized, Bahro went to the Sachsendorf Machinery and Tractor Station in Oderbruch as "village editor" with the job of explaining -- always with the fine dogmatic touch -- "the line" (the title of his newspaper) to the rural population on behalf of the SED kreis management.

One year later in Greifswald he edited the university newspaper for the SED kreis management. As early as 1962 the SED Central Committee noticed him and called him to Berlin as an aide to the chairman of the Science Union. In 1965 the party named him assistant editor-in-chief of FORUM, the organ of the FDJ -- at that time one of the SED's foremost ideological journals. An uneventful party career.

But then Bahro organized a FORUM debate on lyric poetry in which he attacked the writer Guenter Kunert for his "defeatist spirit." Other literary figures came out strongly in support of Kunert, the debate threatened to get out of hand and the party reprimanded Bahro, admonishing him to let sleeping dogs lie.

When a short time later Bahro printed Volker Braun's "Kipper Paul Bauch" [Paul Bauch the Tippler] -- a story which gave the "wrong" impression of the working class, according to the SED -- and refused to offer the expected self-criticism, he had to give up his position.

He made a soft landing. With the aid of former academic colleagues, in 1967 the dismissed party ideologist switched to industry where he has since been working at the Berlin Rubber Combine on rationalization, labor organization, norm fulfillment and general organizational problems.

While the editor of FORUM, Bahro perceived for the first time that for the SED, Marxist ideology is basically "only a facade," the pretext for a power policy that in reality serves interests other than those identified by Marx.

The ultimate turning point came in 1968 with the march of Warsaw Pact troops into the CSSR. He considers it "the Soviet leadership's greatest political crime since World War II" to have forcibly "deprived" the people of Eastern Europe of the "irrecoverable experience acquired with the full blooming of the Prague Spring."

At that time the disillusioned Bahro drafted a resignation from the SED which he did not submit, however. A protest of that sort seemed too insipid. Instead, he undertook to draw up a theoretical balance sheet on the system.

Bahro got a foretaste of the expected SED reaction to his book last year when he attempted to take his degree belatedly with a dissertation on the "Conditions of Development for Advanced School Cadre in Industry." Despite positive judgments from his professors, the vice-chancellor for social sciences at the Merseburg Advanced Technical School, Dieter Graichen, succeeded in rejecting the paper because of an alleged lack of "scientific hypothesis."

Said Bahro: "In reality the analysis of obstacles which block individual initiative in GDR enterprises was too explosive for him."

Although still a member of the party management in his enterprise, Bahro does not believe that the SED can regenerate itself from within as the Czechoslovak Communist Party did with the Prague Spring. For him it is a question of rejuvenating the communist

movement, not the party; he considers the party in its bureaucratic torpor totally incapable of reform (see excerpts, p 33).

The hope of a revolution is all that remains -- not, of course, as an abrupt transfer of power but as a "cultural revolution," as a cautious reordering of the existing structure of authority and society.

In contrast to internal Marxist opposition that preceded him and also to the harshest Eurocommunist critic of the Soviet system, Spain's Communist Party chief Santiago Carrillo, Bahro does not merely question the methods of the communist exercise of power in its present form; he questions its economic foundation. This foundation is the forced industrialization which one day will supposedly enable all men to live a carefree existence in fraternal equality.

To be sure, Bahro the Marxist knows that there can be no talk of emancipation wherever material need holds sway. He considers historically legitimate the dictatorial means used by the Bolsheviks in Russia to industrialize their backward country.

But today, wherever Eastern Europe has reached the stage of relative wealth, it is time to bring back to mind the original Marxist vision: that of abolishing man's domination over man, of sealing off all sources of alienation which make him a spiritual cripple while still on the far side of poverty.

As the origin of that alienation Marx fixed upon the division of labor, which is also reflected even today in the relationship of the superior to his subordinate. Although for Marx the abolition of capitalism and elimination of the division of labor were one and the same historical act, Bahro shows that existing socialism has not reduced the division of labor of old. On the contrary, it has expanded it -- in such a way that "subordination" has become the predominant behavioral characteristic of every walk of life.

Bahro demands a radical change of course in educational policy in order to reverse this unfortunate development. Instead of rearing highly specialized technical idiots, he wants a "universalist" education which would in principle enable everyone to function at any level of his work -- sometimes as a mason, sometimes as an architect, for example.

Bahro denies the charge of indulgence in utopian dreams of the "new" man. Although he grants that implementation of his cultural revolution would require a religious movement, as it were, in the



long run he sees no alternative to his ascetically purified socialism: "If we do not renounce further material expansion, we end in nothingness."

According to Bahro, a prerequisite for making the jump from existing to authentic socialism is the establishment of a new "League of Communists." All those could come together here who "have ever been truly serious about the communist cause, which is true equality and universal emancipation."

At first this would not be a party of the traditional variety. It would be more of an ideological discussion group, something like a "collective intellectual" whose job it would be "to acquaint those people within and outside the party who are politically interested in socialism with the idea of the possibility of an alternative."

Bahro's book is intended as the first step in this direction. The author thinks it will have a "considerable" effect even though allowed to appear only in the West. He believes that 200-300 copies would circulate underground after publication.

Bahro has in the meantime prepared himself for the fact that "the politburocracy will doubtless try out more than one method of suppressing it." He does not yet know what the consequences of this week's expected State Security visit will be for him: "Perhaps they will only take away my job, perhaps they will offer me the chance to leave the country, perhaps they will remove me from circulation."

The pleasantest possibility physically, emigration to the Federal Republic, he naturally considers unacceptable in the interests of his cause: "They can throw me out of the SED but not out of the problem, and consequently not out of the GDR."

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CSO: 2300

DISSIDENT BAHRO'S WESTERN PUBLICATION DISCUSSED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Aug 77 pp 33-34, 36,38,40

[Unattributed article: "'Against Themselves and Against the People'  
-- Rudolf Bahro on the Communist Bureaucracy"]

[Text] It is not just out of malice but out of stupidity that bourgeois propagandists make the mistake of judging a strong pressure to produce in our enterprises by socialist propaganda calling for a better qualitative and especially quantitative use of working time.

In reality, not only labor intensity but also labor discipline is of course at a lower level than under capitalism. Our order allows a greater margin for "natural" human laziness and carelessness than capitalism, and this is true not only "at the bottom" but also "at the top." The indolence of the bureaucrat corresponds to the worker's lack of interest, the specialist's listlessness.

Almost everything that is undertaken is marked by a characteristic imbalance between outlay and return. And the party, which under the conditions it has initiated can function solely as the motor of industrial and social progress, is caught by its own apparatus deep in the ubiquitous spider web of bureaucracy which excludes no area of social life no matter how remote.

But if the bureaucratic sclerosis of the power structure were the sole prevailing trend, if its doubtless burdensome effect were essentially successful, then we could never have the nevertheless relatively high rate of economic growth that distinguishes those noncapitalist countries which operate under parties of the Marxist-Leninist tradition.

Bureaucracy raised its conservative head as early as the Lenin period of the Russian Revolution. All the same, the prodigious economic dynamics of the 1930's ensued, and the apparatus largely

rejuvenated by Stalin himself turned out to be a controlled terrorist tool of the political and industrial revolution.

Even today, the bureaucratic form of our superstructure is detrimental less to quantitative than to qualitative growth; the latter, to be sure, in a way that cannot be corrected within the framework of premises as given.

But it is very important to the search for an alternative to comprehend that our hierarchy is not unconditionally stuck with its devilish cycle and why it is not.

There are two reasons for this. One consists in the interest the apparatus has in self-preservation in light of the unremitting challenge from its materially and technically superior Western partners and opponents.

The original Bolshevik motivation for economic competition has of course never particularly excited the mass of bureaucrats. But Lenin's legacy -- labor productivity is in the final analysis the deciding factor -- refuses to be suppressed because today it expresses the condition for the survival of our order in a society that has largely been disillusioned by that order.

The hectic fever that spreads repeatedly and convulsively from the top down through the entire economic apparatus is the curse of the hare that has to observe how the (Western) porcupine is still there waiting for him.

Basically there still is present in the Soviet Union's problems today much of the old external challenge that drove Peter the Great to crack the whip over Russia -- and that meant first of all over the Russian bureaucracy. The average party and state official is driven to a heart attack not by his restless conscience -- his obvious mentality measures up to every ideal of the traditional conservatism in office -- but by the will to self-assertion on the part of the highest functionaries who on no account want to let go of the reins of power.

Inwardly the great dilemma is that the masses measure their promises less and less by the small advances intended for them with each annual plan and more and more by the absolute distance from the consumer paradise of industrialized nations in the advanced stages of capitalism.

The bureaucratic upper crust and its hangers-on parade this latter kind of life before the people, even more obtrusively in the Soviet Union than here. Gone is the old Bolshevik modesty which considered it an honor to share the material hardships of the poorest ones.

If satellite technology completely eliminates the anachronistic isolation of the Soviet masses from the emerging "picture of the world" of today, the apparatus in Moscow will be enthroned over a volcano of unsatisfied material demands. This and nothing else is the cause of the mood of panic that shows through in Gromyko's draft agreement "on principles for the use of artificial earth satellites for direct telecasts," a document that smacks of Nicholas I.

In the Soviet Union today it is not merely a question of defending against "ideological diversion" in the traditional sense. The propaganda machine would be completely powerless against the mere appearance of the "affluent society." It is, after all, an open secret that even the western countries within its own bloc cannot be opened out of hand for general inspection by Soviet citizens.

There is, however, a second -- to a certain extent more important -- reason than the interests of self-preservation for the relative inability of our system to function.

In many developing countries we are seeing parties and bureaucracies of non-Marxist-Leninist origin struggling with far less success for the economic legitimation of their rule. They cannot even gain mastery over corruption -- a different type of corruption from that systematic bribery to assure loyalty to the state which Stalin knew how to organize from the top and which generally speaking never escapes from centralized control.

In the last analysis the characteristic discipline of true Stalinist bureaucrats rests neither upon the graduated scale of privileges nor solely on the constant presence of an indirect threat of force in case of deviation. A residue of loyalty in terms of world view and morality has been preserved up to this day; crucial to this loyalty is the formal attachment of influential representatives to a small catechism of pure doctrine.

Involved here is the continuation of an original inspiration that is to be observed with parties based on a world view as well as with churches, an inspiration which numbers among their conditions of existence. Despite state religion, orthodoxy and inquisition, the church is not yet dead even today, because and insofar as it is successful in keeping believably current in at least a few of its parts the mission of Christ described in the New Testament as a behavioral ideal. (In times of their worst crises, churches are saved by their heretics.)

In all of our parties in power there are still people all the way to the top who are guided by the ideal at least out of a guilty conscience. If they wanted to publicly renounce the ideal, their

consciences would immediately brush the denial aside. Pursued by an ineluctable legitimacy complex, they need the historical lie as much as their daily bread, and at least in certain insincere moments they must even believe it in order to survive psychologically. They are still using betrayed and corrupted Marxism to make the most of their opportunities.

What is the root of the weakness of Stalinist bureaucracies? Why are they unable to begin a forward retreat and themselves take the initiative in breaking out of the dilemma between their original revolutionary mission and their practice of domination?

More far-sighted functionaries -- Kadar, for example -- are bringing back Lenin's idea that given the conditions of its autocratic rule, the party should simultaneously assume the role of the opposition. But the party is not truly successful here because, as a result of its own bureaucratization, its subjection to the gigantic apparatus and its own need to reproduce, it is incapable of placing itself at a critical distance from the machine of state, from statism.

We should finally wipe out the last vestiges of the illusion that as far as the mass of political and administrative bureaucrats is concerned we are dealing with communists who are merely surface bureaucrats to whose corroded consciences we should perhaps make a more thorough appeal.

No; bureaucracy has long since ceased to be merely a slipcovered foreign shape. It has become to a certain extent the natural political form of existence for a large group of people with distinct special interests.

Those who are naive often marvel that the party weakens itself by accepting so many "unworthies." In reality the power of the bureaucracy grows with the number of subjugated and administered souls. Functionaries and the people -- this is the inevitable dichotomy in every socialist society like ours.

It is axiomatic that every political party needs an organizational apparatus in the form of bureaus, secretariats, or whatever such auxiliary departments may be called.

But as practiced by our ruling parties, the original meaning of the terms has been stood on its head. There never has been a hierarchy whose most influential representatives have called themselves "bureau members" and "secretaries" of all things. By these descriptions alone one can see how the living body of the party is being overwhelmed by its bureaucracy. It is hardly happenstance that party life today is producing no leading political figures, no real conceptual ideologists.

Taking their place in party channels all the way up to the Central Committee apparatus -- which, upon close examination, is merely the extended totality of Politburo functions -- we find without exception a duplicate of all branches and levels of the state and "social" bureaucracy in condensed form.

The drafting, implementation and control of party resolutions must be distributed among its own bureaucracy because the party can appear as an initiator only through its apparatus, not through the self-organization of its members represented everywhere.

Thus it is not an atmosphere of popular sovereignty found in representative bodies that rises over the state administrative bureaucracy, but a special political bureaucracy which for its part manipulates internal party elections -- soviets play a negligible role under the Soviet system; their makeup is determined not by popular election but by bureaucratic selection under the party's watchful eye.

At the top, in the form of the Politburo, stands an institution that in reality appoints itself. Those who are already in this leadership body -- and not even all of those -- decide which new members are to be admitted. These "communists" go so far as to provide their own protocol for the internal seating arrangement according to degrees of rank.

The dictatorship of the Politburo is a fateful overenhancement of the bureaucratic principle because the party apparatus obedient to it is church hierarchy and superstate in one. The entire structure is quasi-theocratic, for the essence of political force is spiritual force, with the constant trend toward inquisition; the party itself is thus its own political police.

The party apparatus as the essence of state power signifies the secularized God-state which, to its good fortune, the church has never made a success of except locally. Since in this way it is actually "responsible for everything," it must be suspicious of any measure of dissociation from the details of bureaucratic practice as ideological heresy.

It is the serious mistakes in particular that elude any kind of timely criticism. Any political decision, no matter what the economic cost, can be justified by the pretence of knowing the law of history and the true interests of the masses.

In every instance where not millions but billions worth of surplus product manufactured by direct producers is at stake, we may look to the top of the top heap for those responsible. They alone have to answer for the risks since they bear these risks "for society," not with it.

An entire sentimental apologia is building up around this "burden of responsibility," which ultimately has a bearing on the course of the world in general. They bear it like a cross, and it must of course be compensated for by certain creature comforts. It is the source of all justification for internal bureaucratic corruption from above, the most obvious manifestation of which is the appropriation of foreign labor by the lodgers within the power structure.

All things considered, the fundamental political problem under socialism as it actually is, the first object of necessary reorganization, lies in the inability to control the Politburo and its machinery, in this institutional identity of state authority, power of economic disposition and ideological claim to exclusiveness. The centralist monopolization of all economic, political and intellectual power of decision is leading to an insurmountable contradiction between the party's social mission and its political-organizational form of existence.

What I maintain is that the party organization as we specifically know it today is preserving an obsolete picture of the world and behavioral model and that as a cognitive social organ it is functioning in a sclerotic manner on the "physiological" level and neurotically on the "psychological" level.

It generally happens that retarded and malfunctioning brains such as this sooner or later destroy their organisms because the decisions which they make lie too far away from the optimum solution and are often designed only to ensnare the entire system in an even worse crisis.

Today's party organization is a structure that is actively producing the wrong kind of consciousness on a mass scale. At the top, this wrong kind of consciousness congeals into decisions and resolutions which overall cannot represent a correct interpretation of social requirements, necessities and opportunities. It is conditioned like a Pavlovian dog which requires a long time to unlearn a learned response to a given signal if this signal changes its meaning.

The apparatus is -- far beyond the individual narrowness of its own representatives -- blind to all reactions by society to its own burdensome and provocational existence. The individual bureaucrat can err -- or at least can have erred in retrospect -- but the party, that is the apparatus as a whole, is always right. It is for this reason that we so regularly see the official historical materialists searching for scapegoats in order to cover up the malfunctioning of the social ensemble of which they are in charge.

Thus it is that the party inserts itself between social thought and reality like a discolored and distorted dark-field lens. The working masses, who must remain ignorant of how this lens was designed and ground, how it is adjusted and turned, what it stops down and what systematic errors it causes, can only forego the use of this instrument, and they do it. They "tune out" even before the official prayer-mills have rattled out the first sentence.

But the tragedy consists in the fact that they have to forego a different kind of cognition altogether because society possesses no alternative structure for this.

Even worse, the only theory that is designed to penetrate the jungle of bureaucratic centralism and its politburocratic holy of holies -- revolutionary Marxism -- is still being so effectively usurped by the party bureaucracy as a result of the apparatus' total control over the mass media and education that it is also affected by the general distrust of the masses. No matter in what variation it may appear, the people suspect that it was created for the express purpose of establishing the present party hierarchy.

Wherever its communications technology will reach, the West's ideological mass production fires into the high-percentage vacuum that has built up.

The contradictions within our system have advanced so far that the bourgeois propaganda apparatus is at least in part playing more the role of a useful corrective agent. Wherever its influence is lacking -- as in remote areas of the Soviet Union -- the spiritual-political situation of the working people vis-a-vis the politburocratic regime is more unfavorable than here in the bloc's peripheral countries.

How do communists in East European countries know about the actual existence of progressive movements all over the world? How do they know anything about the socialist experiences of Yugoslavia or China, or about the 1968 action program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party? Who cites the "revival" of the Italian Communists -- no matter how biased the quote?

The list could go on indefinitely. The devastating fact is the anti-Promethean character of influential "fraternal parties," first and foremost the Soviet and our German parties.

Their inner condition and their hierarchical form as a superstate apparatus are the crucial developmental obstacles in the path leading to the further emancipation of people in our countries. The party that was founded by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg -- today their torches seem to be heading in the opposite direction.



In parties such as this, communists are organized against themselves and against the people. Merely by its physical existence, with no more particular perfidy, the party apparatus of today is the gravedigger of the party ideal and individual party spirit. It makes those very people who are communists out of the necessity of their characters and their conviction superfluous as party members.

And there is more: If the attempt to make them into bureaucrats, to integrate them into the apparatus, is unsuccessful, they can in fact only "do damage." Thus it is logical to alert the machinery against them, for inevitably the leaders of the antibureaucratic bloc will come from this group.

It is a constant for any church organization that its reformation proceeds from its most pious heretics: Destroy the temple in order to rebuild it in finer fashion; drive out the money changers so that the faithful may assemble once more.

Without a doubt this pattern is playing a role in the present situation involving the rapid ideological decline of power of our "catholic" party. Just as church reform presupposes the Christian spirit, party reform presupposes the communist spirit.

One thing should be clear, however: The new communist party must be as different from the traditional party -- even from the Bolshevik -- as any reform church is from its predecessor.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

MARXIST RUDOLF BAHRO WRITES ON COMMUNIST REFORM

Mainz TV Interviews

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 23 Aug 77 p 2

[FR report: "In Conversation: The SED Wants No Questions"]

[Text] The European Publishing House in Cologne is putting out a book entitled "The Alternative" by member of the SED and economic functionary Rudolf Bahro, a book that was actually written for the GDR and for those in power there. Bahro wants a renewal of the communist movement in the GDR, although he considers the SED itself totally incapable of reform because of its absolute bureaucratization. Therefore, a "League of Communists" should be formed which would gradually transform the GDR variety of communism with its "despotism of industrialization" and its "perpetuation of an advanced class society." The original visions of Karl Marx must be recalled, such as the abolition of man's domination over man. Bahro, born in 1936, has been a member of the SED for 23 years. His party career took him as far as the position of deputy editor-in-chief of the FDJ organ FORUM, and today he is a department head for scientific labor organization at the Berlin Rubber Combine VEB. Dirk Sager of the ZDF [FRG Second German Television Program] magazine entitled "Kennzeichen D" [Identification Tag D] interviewed him. The broadcast is scheduled for 2115 hours this Tuesday [23 Aug 77]. An excerpt follows:

Bahro: I have been a communist since I was 15 or 16 years old, since I was able to think in political terms. I am certain that I shall continue to be until the end of my life. I have made a thorough study of Marxism; and not only once. For this book I actually covered Marx again from beginning to end.

Sager: In your book you call for changes -- what kind of changes do you visualize? Changes in the party, in the economy?

Bahro: Yes. In the present situation we are unfortunately not in a position to discuss publicly the problems that clearly exist in our society, and without a broad public discussion of the possibilities of the situation, we cannot, of course, arrive at alternative developments. We must therefore do away with the political restriction which weighs heavily upon the process of thinking, of reflection, of political and social thinking here. But the ultimate concern is thoroughgoing changes in the overall economic and socio-economic process.

Sager: But here you have a ruling working class party which takes it upon itself to mold socialist democracy here in this country. Is it only a sham democracy?

Bahro: Now then, if you take the words to our constitution, there is technically a positive answer to every question in the realm of socialist affairs. But the actual GDR Constitution signifies simply that socialist democracy is just as unreal, just as formal as to Marx bourgeois democracy [text garbled] plainly no socialist democracy here.

Sager: To return to the reasons. There is an irritating expression -- dictatorship of the proletariat. Is it also irritating to you?

Bahro: No, it isn't, because I hope I have dealt with this problem theoretically. Socialist democracy is a question of superstructure. Particularly in the GDR one could naturally produce various arguments to show that the political confrontation with the Federal Republic has forced us to apply an especially large number of restrictions. There is a great deal to this argument. I have attempted (in my book) to analyse production circumstances themselves and have come to the conclusion that the most common domination relationship of a class society continues to exist here, the division of labor production relationship of old. Involved here are circumstances of domination in the labor process which are reflected in a multi-level hierarchy of information processing covering everything that goes on in the economic, political and social spheres. The total process is a centralistic one, and all decision-making power is concentrated in a single spot within the Politburo, not to say in a single man. This means that all of society is excluded from these decisionmaking matters.

Sager: You draw your alternative from Marx. Can you describe your alternative?

Bahro: I can only indicate here that the primary objective -- stated first in a negative way -- consists in getting rid of the material conditions that breed subordination (inferiority). The consequence to the individual of what I said about the circumstances of the old division of labor and the state is that he is made subordinate, that in a dependent role he possesses no competence to help make decisions on any matters whatsoever. I have the following answers: The first task is this: The essential economic issue consists in getting rid of the old division of labor. This is the division of labor -- to mention the extreme -- between the Politburo member whose job it is to decide matters of war and peace and the cleaning woman who can decide which mop to use in her work... I am demanding -- and I put this word in quotation marks -- academic /universitaere/ training for all members of society... The next question, which is related, concerns the manner and mode of the socialization process and of the educational process in the schools. That is, I am asking about conditions contributing to the educability of the great mass of individuals. Finally, I am asking how the overall economic process can be steered differently than heretofore. We seem to have practically surpassed the capitalist principle of company organization, and now it seems to me that in the spirit of the superorganization it is genuinely (in the original sense) inimical to individuality. One must, then, reflect upon a way to assemble this social entity in a different way...

Sager: And you consider this possible in a highly industrialized society like that in the GDR?

Bahro: I have to say this: Rather than consider it possible, I consider it necessary. If we continue this type of civilization for -- I won't say 10 years; it is not a question of scare tactics -- let us say 50 or 100 years -- the type of civilization now being practiced under socialism as it actually exists, then human life on this earth will no longer be worth living.

Sager: This state and the party in this state have already resisted the slightest criticism or suggestion. Do you consider it at all possible to make these problems open to discussion?

Bahro: The party in its present form here is in reality the concentrated expression of necessity. It is an expression of the fact that the impetus of the October Revolution has been exhausted, that the noncapitalist path of industrialization taken at that time has now arrived at a point where it can advance no farther. It is therefore also not surprising that our ruling party here -- that these ruling parties -- that they are absolutely not receptive to the posing of any problems whatever. It is almost not even important how radical one's questions are. They do not want to be questioned at all, do not want to be faced with the necessity of

having to do anything differently from the way they did it before because they do not believe that the entire structure could be sustained as it was before.

I have, by the way, circulated my book here as well in a small and unprofessionally prepared edition, inscribed quite intentionally with the words Berlin, capital of the GDR, 1976, because the book is about this place and of this place.

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#### Hamburg TV Interview

Hamburg Domestic Television Service in German 2220 GMT 23 Aug 77 DW

[Interview with GDR system critic Rudolf Bahro by Lutz Lehmann in East Berlin -- Recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Bahro, when did you realize that socialism, as it really exists, hardly is identical with its theoretical principles, as you have pointed out?

[Answer] This is a long story. You know, originally it seemed, and I saw it long ago, that certain things are not as they should be according to the communist ideal. But I believed for many years that these shortcomings and problems could be eliminated under our conditions by the official leadership. Only when I began to realize that there are barriers which cannot be overcome, and that this system is not frankly in favor of a real socialist and communist perspective, I decided to embark on this way.

The beginning of my considerations dates back to the years between 13 August 1961 and 21 August 1968. Like many communists of the younger generation, I hoped that after the building of the Wall, that is on the basis of somewhat secured stability, we would make a great attempt to win the masses for us in order to eventually get out of the confrontation vis-a-vis the people. It seemed to me that a certain beginning was made between 1961 and 1968, but I was wrong. I remember, for instance, the 1963 Youth Communique of the Politburo, which offered some leeway for criticizing bureaucracy from below in order to eliminate or halt certain processes of inflexibility and to create some space for initiative. But eventually these were de facto just tactical maneuvers and nothing came of it. And then came the attempt made in Czechoslovakia and the squashing of this attempt. This was the moment when I could not go along any more. So 21 August was decisive for my present position. Since then I have been working, not in a preparatory way on this book, but seriously making studies. In the early seventies I began to write it.

[Question] I understand that for you the bureaucratic apparatus is more than an instrument, it almost has become the matter as such.

[Answer] Yes. Basically, I did not write a political book in this special sense, depicting only the political surface of conditions in our country. DER SPIEGEL depicted my book rather unilaterally by concentrating on my criticism of the party apparatus. This is the way I wrote it in my book, of course, but these were just several excerpts. Actually, however, my book is an economic-philosophical work. I analyzed our production conditions, showing the position the bureaucratic apparatus is holding, demonstrating that it is characteristic of the system, and that our noncapitalist system actually is a system of bureaucratic centralism. In doing this, I went far back into history. I demonstrated that Marx has convinced that communism, modern communism, in a certain way will be a return process to classical communism. There was a certain relation in his ideology. I showed that socialism as it actually exists developed, on a contrary, toward a class society with the old economic despotism of the Egyptians. The bureaucracy and theocracy there was a hierarchy which was not at all the private proprietor of production means, disposing of the general social process of work and life. The situation of the individuals there -- as in our country -- was characterized by a phenomenon I called subordination.

[Question] You described the two opposing structures as arrogance of the apparatus and as the subalternate approach of the masses. What concrete effects will that have?

[Answer] The matter is simply characterized by the fact that all significant decision processes are being pushed upward from one level to the next, and that such a centralization takes place so that the masses of individuals are being excluded from every kind of codetermination on those matters on which their life actually depends and not just their welfare. As a result the people almost necessarily are being subordinated, as I call it, withdrawing into their private lives and cherishing their prosperity, which is being demonstrated to us by the other side, and which actually is rather irrelevant for the development of human characteristics.

[Question] Is this the Plebeian lower-middle-class attitude of the people which strikes the Western visitor as the most outstanding characteristic of the GDR?

[Answer] Yes, this is the mass appearance of it, so to speak, of the situation I just described. I think that this is a rather specific matter of the system, and that it does not date back to some old Prussian-German traditions, which certainly have some bearing too.

[Question] Well, obviously the conditions which you describe, namely, arrogance from above and a subordinate attitude at the bottom, has economic effects, meaning in production, in the working process.

[Answer] I spent the past 10 years in industry. Most recently I held an industrial management position; the experiences I gathered there have essentially been included in my book. I cannot but state that the effects of these conditions cause a constant, successive decline in work morale and discipline in our industry. We have above all, what Andras Hegedus, the Hungarian Marxist philosopher, has termed a system of organized irresponsibility. This is the direct parallel of subordination. We have here conditions of subordination and organized irresponsibility, and this inflicts great damage to the economy. Thus we have a high level of disorganization and lack of motivation not only on the part of the workers but also among the cadres in medium management positions. In our case it is possible indeed that interesting tasks such as a large-scale investment project is split up and distributed among the people in such a way that this job, which is rather a pleasant one, is done by listless people with great reluctance because this simply cannot produce any feeling of success for an individual. This is connected with the way in which we control our whole system from the top all the way down.

[Question] What you have written surely is the book of a heretic. Who is the addressee, to whom do you address yourself?

[Answer] Heretic. Let us look at this term a bit. In the expiring Middle Ages the Reformation had long had its addressees in circles, above all, which had been close to the Church, in circles of theologians, monks, ecclesiastically engaged secular Christians, even before it prevailed with Luther for good. And if I think of our conditions here this comes to my mind. We have seen in Czechoslovakia in 1968 how many communists had been organized in the CPC but in reality maintained positions entirely different from those which they were supposed to hold according to the party. I would like to state quite clearly: There is thinking going on in the GDR. Innumerable people here who are somewhat familiar with Marxism have long arrived at ideas similar to mine, of course. The question only is: Should this be openly stated and should the risk be run of receiving some assistance from Strauss, meaning, from reaction in the Federal Republic? I took that into account and did not see any other possibility. But the problems I am bringing up are on the agenda in the minds of innumerable people in the GDR.

[Question] The signals in the GDR have been set for progress. The slogan is: Growth, prosperity, stability. Surely these are attractive targets for the masses; and here you come and expressly say that you want a cultural revolution. Who should implement that and how?

[Answer] I cannot, of course, completely expound that in the short time available. The whole third part of my book is devoted to this issue. I reckon that in this country and in the countries of real socialism on the whole there is already what I call a mass of surplus awareness, meaning of psychic energy and capacity, which is no longer tied down in daily work, in the daily functioning of the apparatus, as it were. Powerful

emancipatory interests--as I call them--are at work here which just are not organized and consequently cannot be utilized. Our system is organized in such a way that everything pushing beyond it is atomized, made impotent, to the point that it can be discussed only within the four walls of home. There you can say a lot. But a serious discussion of prospects to the point of a proposal does not materialize. And this is what matters: Rallying the forces which do exist here but which are split, not organized--and also prevented from organizing by police--to discuss with them thoroughly the prospects of a cultural revolution which I interpret in the Marxian and not Maoist sense, and to try to set off against bourgeois civilization, whose horizon we thus far could not break open, another civilization, an alternative.

[Question] Alternative, that is the title of your book, Alternative to Real Socialism. But will people not advance the argument that much of the situation in the GDR must be attributed to the fact that the state is in a special strategic position at the seam between East and West?

[Answer] There is even something to what you are saying there with respect to the specific situation of the GDR. You know, in reality my book is not a GDR criticism as DER SPIEGEL has briefly described it. My book is a criticism against the real socialism whose roots, history, structure can be comprehended only via the Soviet Union, that is to say, if one comprehends the development of Russia from what I call the agricultural to the industrial despotism. I believe that my book will have an effect beyond the present situation of the GDR--I hope that the sensation which it currently causes will be over soon--and that it will make it possible in the countries of real socialism to discuss a concept for a different overall policy. Once again I like to refer to DER SPIEGEL and say this: What I would like to achieve is a communist opposition: I do not want to found a party tomorrow. This is not the way history or politics work. But the actual purpose of my book is to provide the communist opposition, for which a potential exists in all countries of real socialism, with a theoretical foundation.

CSO: 2300



EAST GERMANY

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE SENDS MESSAGE TO NAMIBIA

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0308 GMT 26 Aug 77 LD

[Text] Berlin--On the "Day of Solidarity With the People of Namibia" the GDR Solidarity Committee and the GDR Committee for the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination have issued a joint statement. In it both organizations convey fraternal solidarity greetings to the Namibian people and its legitimate representatives, SWAPO. "Under the pressure of the growing successes achieved by SWAPO in the political-diplomatic field and also in the military field and under the pressure of the international progressive public, the South African racist regime is now attempting to force the Namibian people to accept a neocolonialist solution," notes the statement. "In this, it is getting assistance from those two-faced imperialist powers who make a verbal stand against apartheid and the policy of racial oppression but who in fact support this shameful policy in order to hold on to Namibia as a rich area ready for exploitation." The GDR people condemn those NATO states which support the bloody colonial rule of the South African apartheid regime.

The joint statement emphasizes the demand to take energetic measures against South Africa in accordance with Chapter (??) of the UN Charter and insures its strict implementation by all the states without exception. "In this connection we welcome all activities by the decolonization committee and by the Namibian council which have the aim of implementing the right of the Namibian people to independence and self-determination. Without doubt the decisions taken at the recent OAU Council of Ministers meeting in Libreville will mobilize the international and especially the African public, for the support of the just struggle of the Namibian people." The GDR would give it effective assistance as the leading force of the liberation struggle and as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The GDR considered it as the sacred right of the Namibian people to defend itself against the South African occupation and to fight with all available means for the realization of its right to self-determination.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION MARKS 25TH ANNIVERSARY

Honecker Message

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0300 GMT 27 Aug 77 LD

[Text] Berlin--The SED Central Committee has sent a message to mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of the GDR Customs Administration in which it praises the performance of its employees. "Led by the SED, the workers in the Customs Administration have faithfully fulfilled their class duty with regards worker-and-peasant-power in close solidarity with the working class and all other workers and have proved themselves to be socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists", states the message signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. "By responsibly implementing socialist laws in border traffic, they make a continually growing contribution towards the all-round strengthening and secure protection of the socialist GDR." The work of the customs officials in passport and visa-free traffic and in cooperation with the customs administration authorities of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community had contributed with increasing effectiveness towards consolidating friendly relations and towards drawing these states and peoples closer together.

The decisions of the Ninth SED Congress also lay down new criteria for the work of the Customs Administration authorities, it is stressed. "The Customs Administration workers must continue in the future always to concentrate on the circumstances of the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism."

Council of Ministers, SED CC Tributes

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Summary] With a celebration at the Berlin State Opera on Friday the GDR Council of Ministers paid tribute to the outstanding achievements of the GDR Customs Administration on the occasion of its 25th anniversary. The event was attended by the Politburo members and candidate members

Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Erich Mielke and Werner Jarowinsky; by Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and other Council of Ministers members, as well as by the heads of the Customs Administration of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic and the CSSR.

The congratulatory message of the SED Central Committee, submitted by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, was greeted with strong applause. GDR Foreign Trade Minister Horst Soelle, speaking on behalf of the GDR Council of Ministers, thanked the members of the Customs Administration for their responsible and conscientious work, stressing that they have stood their test as proletarian internationalists and socialist patriots. He said that the cordial and friendly relationship and fraternal cooperation of the comrades of the GDR Customs Administration with the Customs Administrations of the USSR and the other socialist countries was an expression of the joint internationalist duty to strengthen and safeguard the revolutionary achievements of socialism.

"In a resolution to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, the members of the Customs Administration pledge as socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists to use all their energy for deepening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and all other states of the socialist community, to always implement socialist law in the border-crossing passenger and goods traffic in the interest of the socialist state and its citizens, to consistently continue to uncover and stop attempts at smuggling, speculation and violation of the state monopoly on foreign trade and foreign currency, and to continue to actively support the policy of the party, aimed at peace and detente, through revolutionary vigilance and class-conscious fulfillment of the targets."

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SED ORGAN LAUDS GOOD U.S.-GDR SPORTS RELATIONS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 77 p 7 AU

[Article by "J.H.": "Jackson Smith and the World-Record Athlete"]

[Excerpt] Jackson Smith, an architect from Old Greenwich in the U.S. state of Connecticut, who last weekend served in the GDR capital as manager of the American divers team, late on Sunday evening at the banquet took the floor and said: "There was a time when we in the United States believed that springboard diving was our kind of sport, and ours alone at that. We have had to learn that these times are long past and that springboard diving is dominated by those who have the necessary courage and the strength to develop ideas. These include the GDR. Hence we will again and again, despite the defeat of Berlin, seek contests with the best of the GDR, of whom Falk Hoffmann is only one, but perhaps the most brilliant one." Accompanied by the cordial applause of the U.S. team he handed to Dr Heinz Gold, deputy chairman of the German Swimming League, a tin plaque with the engraved names of all American springboard divers who started in Berlin.

This actually not uncommon gesture--the guest's words went beyond the usual compliments, though--was in a way characteristic of the contest between the two countries and its climate. Two of the world's strongest swimming nations met in contest, openmindedly and sportsmanlike, and in the struggle for victory were able to score a number of new records--which of course provided conversation topics for the final banquet.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

WILLERDING IN INDIA--New Delhi (ADN correspondent's dispatch--Dr Klaus Willerding, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is at present in New Delhi for political talks, was received by Indian Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee for a talk. During this talk, which passed on a friendly and open-minded climate, opinions were exchanged on basic problems of international development, especially concerning the safeguarding of peace and disarmament. The further development of the existing friendly relations were also discussed. Foreign Minister Vajpayee especially stressed the Indian Government's desire and interest to further deepen the relations of traditional friendship and cooperation between India and the GDR. On the same day consultations started with Jagat S. Mehta, state secretary at the Indian Foreign Ministry. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

IDEOLOGICAL DEBATES ANSWER NEW QUESTIONS OF REALITY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Aug 77 pp 3-4

[Article by Deputy Premier Gyorgy Aczel: "Realizing Our Ideals," an excerpt from a longer study titled "Handing on Historical Experiences" which examines a few of the more important experiences of debates taking place in our homeland.]

[Text] We can best measure the development of socialist democracy by the extent to which the workers, peasants and intellectuals make use of the possibilities given by our society, by how and with what effect they can influence development. Proposals serving progress are naturally accompanied by a sincere disclosure and criticism of reality, by a debate and exchange of views which deal openly with our difficulties too. The usefulness and justifiability of these debates are determined before all else by why and in the interest of what goal they are conducted. In the case of social questions their true meaning can only be that we should see more clearly the never simple problems of building a developed socialism, the timely tasks and the ways and means of their solution. We should not hold trumped up debates simply to satisfy our domestic opponents or external enemies ("you see, we have debates too").

Marxism-Leninism is not a collection of dogmas defined once and for all; its truths are given birth to by reality. This is a science born and developed in debates. A debate which examines reality and defines concrete truths is and endless life-giving element of it. It not only presumes but absolutely demands debate which always continues on many levels--among Marxists, between Marxists and their allies, friends and supporters, between Marxists and their opponents and even between Marxists and their enemies.

In the recognition of truth an inestimable significance attaches to the existence of the socialist world system, before all else of the Soviet Union, and to the vigorous development of the socialist world which not only provides convincing facts for the dialog but also offers experiences which can be replaced by nothing else for a free and creative debate. This also gives life to creative work the results of which are embodied in the political,

economic and cultural development of the socialist countries. We can say this as an historic truth on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

The bourgeoisie of the 20th century no longer have guiding ideas or ideals which inspire the masses. The intellectual confusion reigning among the bourgeoisie derives from this fact. The ideals of socialism have withstood and are withstanding the tests of reality but there is also need for control by means of debates which clarify matters in a principled way. This is why, among other things, open public life polemics are indispensable in the world of socialism.

The parties to the debate may be friends, allies or opponents, they may be Marxists or idealists, but the debate between them must remain a debate in the true humanist sense of the word. There have been few men in the history of the world who have debated in a more passionate, sharp, cutting and sarcastic voice than Lenin but his purpose was never to annihilate his debating partner; rather it was a criticism of his incorrect views. In every phase of our movement much has depended on whether we could debate correctly, well and in a principled fashion. More than once the source of our mistakes and failures has been an incorrect handling of debates and the silencing of our debate partners.

The significance of creative debates is constantly increasing in our social system and this follows necessarily from that unique characteristic of our development that awareness cannot do without the higher order and broad unity which is born from the clash and harmonization of views. We spoke of unity, because in our society, freed of implacable class contradictions, the meaning of debates (in regard to our own internal affairs) is defined primarily by the extent to which they advance the common cause--Do they help socialist national unity and the further development thereof? We should emphasize the significance of debates from this viewpoint and we should not seek to satisfy that narrow stratum which seeks an occasion for opposition or even hostile action often only to demonstrate their selfish desires, with a narrow view and sometimes simply as a pose. We should not avoid the necessary debate even with them because we know that it is difficult to distinguish this narrow stratum from those who err with good intentions nor do we wish to disown even those within this narrow stratum but rather to win back as many of them as possible. It is our hope that historical changes will slowly clear from their consciousness opinions which contain, at best, half truths. We regard every one who wants to progress as our potential ally. It is the position of our party that we must conduct more determined and more consistent ideological debates with them in the interest of persuading them and winning them over and that we must act with greater initiative against their incorrect views. Nor is it an abandonment of our principles if we recognize that dialog is useful and even instructive for us. A many-sided analysis of a debate carried out on principled foundations is part of an indispensable uniform process which aids creative work and the clarification of ideals.

The June 1977 session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party again pointed out that "the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist theory, the continual clarification of ideological questions and the realization of the alliance policy are interdependent tasks to be carried out at the same time." This goal is not new but we must caution again and again that winning the hegemony of Marxism-Leninism is not a one-time task but rather requires extraordinary careful and continual persuasion. The emphasis is on persuasion because ideals cannot be forced on anyone by a command. Our experiences prove that a debate using arguments in a clear atmosphere and with a determined voice will attract those for whom purity of spirit and the future of the country are dear. In our exchanges of views, relying on principles and high quality reasoning, we must be careful that we make no concessions in fundamental ideological and political questions. But we should not reject out of hand those views and opinions which, even if not perfectly formulated and even if mixed with false ideas, still to pertain to real problems of our society. This formulation includes the fact that we should reject hostile views because they distort our reality and thus make difficult and hold back a solution of real problems. We should not reject criticism; we need helpful criticism which aids development. But we should reject lies, distortions and attacks which treat the essence of our system in a hostile manner,

In his June 1957 report to the party's Central Committee Comrade Janos Kadar warned: "In the struggle against the enemy it is very important that we not treat those who have erred as enemies because then we ourselves would be increasing the camp of the enemy. We should not punish those who have erred but rather we should help them to find again the correct road." In the contemporary arena of ideals we might take our position on this same basis; only by weighing realistically the erroneous views of our opponents, seeking the causes for their views, can we argue effectively and with steadfast patience.

If we think about the nature of our debates we must also precisely define the methods for an exchange of views. It is obvious that these dialogs can be carried forward not by power or by loudness but rather by giving examples which increase the credibility of words and arguments, by precise knowledge of the subject and by convincing reasoning, which can give credibility to "what you say is the truth and not only true."

The effectiveness of debates also depends on whether or not we can find the most suitable forms and forums. We must proceed very carefully in this regard. We must weigh which debates it is more proper to conduct as private conversations or as narrower roundtable conferences and which it is more useful to carry before the narrower public of professional forums or the broader public of press, radio or television.

It should be added to all this that those who fear for our alliance policy in regard to consistent debates do not truly understand our principles. Our



political allies consist of all Hungarian citizens who work with us building our homeland and the wellbeing of our people, whatever world view they confess. Everyone who progresses with us is our comrade even if, for the time being, they want to progress with us only up to a certain stop. It is our responsibility to help such honest people to approach our ideals in the course of work so that they should progress not only along side of us but increasingly with us, so that they should understand the logic of history and not "get off" at the station which they originally proposed as their goal but rather should continue the historic "trip" with us.

In the dialog with religious believers we do not want to defeat anyone but only to convince them because we have faith in the depth of our links and do not forget that in the interest of our people we must bring into the circuit of common social action initiatives deriving from various sources. The churches in Hungary were able to find their place in the transformed socialist world because our constitution guarantees religious freedom, the institutional and personal freedom of faith alike.

We should regard it as an achievement that church officials increasingly recognize that, to use their own words, the capitalist order limits the practice of love and so they can undertake everyday work in the interest of our goals. The acceptance of working together is the foundation for continuing our dialog with the churches.

Within the framework of the alliance policy and on a basis of principle we must debate with the groups still inclined toward nationalism too. We are aware that this debate affects sensitive points; there are questions involved which cannot be solved soon, which only the complete victory of socialism can solve, both within individual societies and in international relations.

But the clarity and effectiveness of debates is hindered if an ideology of a nationalist character is present in some polemic as a background idea or accompanying phenomenon or if national hatred or the preaching of false myths can be realized--in however hidden a form. The words of Endre Ady, spoken 70 years ago, are applicable here also: He who is an enemy of progress cannot be a patriot, even if he sings the national anthem all day long.

The debate on population growth, for example, was a good debate in which, even if there were undesirable associated phenomena, social progress and the presentation of national interests met. The measures taken prove this too.

The principles of our alliance policy also define the character of our debates with national nihilist or petit bourgeois people, cutting themselves off from our communal problems, among whom the snob example dominates in regard to lifestyle, moral thinking or abstention from public life or who continue to live in the past or who recreate some elements of the past.

Looking at the public debates in the press in the past 2 years we see that there was a debate about the situation of the producer cooperatives and, therein, about the role of the household plots. We debated about the ratio of investments. Hungarian public opinion was greatly concerned by the further development of a correct and Marxist evaluation of our road. There was a broad debate about national traditions, about the historical role of Ferenc Rakoczi, and about the antecedents and consequences of the Mohacs Disaster. One branch of these polemics is the continuing debate on history publishing now. Broad interest was aroused, in both press and television, by the debate about contemporary architecture, its faults and possibilities. Sometimes independently but in a way which is essentially related we have debated and will continue to debate in various forums about the situation of teachers, about school reform and about mother tongue culture. A sharp and passionate theater debate lasted for months and then there was the exchange dealing with foreign propagation of information on Hungarian history.

All these debates prove that the broadest strata of public opinion do join in the debates started in the press, radio or television. They feel that in the debates we are developing positions about ourselves, about them, about society in important questions of our present and future. Most often this is in an indirect way but sometimes it is in a direct way too.

Although the absence of debate certainly indicates the curtailment or absence of democracy it would be an error to believe that debates (whatever sort of debates!) are proofs of democracy in themselves. We need sensible debates which give validity to truth; we need the summing up and evaluation of the partial achievements of each exchange. It would be worthwhile bringing before a larger public the results of polemics taking place in narrower circles, polemics affecting social and economic life, art or literature; new and true thoughts should be made a public treasure and a position should be taken on the basis of our Marxist worldview. Our democratic public life provides room for the expression of differences of view and aids the creative development of polemics. But it cannot permit the spread of pseudo-debates in the place of the clash of ideas, distorted emotions or unprincipled quarrels to contaminate our intellectual life, cannot permit personal interests and antipathies to seek expression on the pretext of debates conducted in the guise of principle while at the same time distracting public attention from essential questions.

In debates it is not individuals who win over individuals but rather correct ideas which win over false views or erroneous ideas. So it is not a defeat if we say in some question: We have changed our opinion because you convinced us or because we have mutually corrected our views. He who has a firm conviction, knowing the fundamental truth, is not only capable of learning but is ready to learn and say so if he has erred.

It is also part of the atmosphere of our intellectual life that a position of power can never be an argument in polemics. He who debates must forget

that power is in his hands. But at the same time no sort of cheap opposition behavior can be an argument against convincing truths.

He who listens to others simply because he must listen to them and then leaves the table as he sat down does not understand the essence of socialist democracy and compromises our aspirations. Only he can convince others who can himself be convinced. So debate can never be for us a formality. It cannot be so also because one can debate only with views which are known and understood and it cannot be so also because we cannot rule out the possibility that we may learn of something, even if only a partial truth, from which we can and must learn.

Everyone who participates in public debates must assume simultaneously a risk and a responsibility, knowing that in our homeland today hundreds of thousands pay attention even to apparently narrower professional, literary, artistic or scientific debates. The desire for learning is increasing, the public culture program is being realized, and as a result ever more people pick up journals with the intention of learning from the debates. It causes disappointment if the debate is comprehensible only to initiates and it awakens just antipathy if the tone is given by personal passions and particular interests. One should never forget that he who debates is carrying out a public life activity. Nor should it be forgotten that more and more of our debate partners are fighting for a partial truth and we must always recognize this and build it into the whole truth. The attempt to understand, however, can never mean that we should take cognizance of every view, including incorrect views mutely. He errs who thinks that we are respecting socialist democracy and freedom of debate only if we do not sepak up whatever we hear. The Marxism of the mute is not Marxism.

Defense of our truths and taking the initiative in ideological work can never mean a rejection of a just criticism touching our reality, remaining silent about our weaknesses or unsolved problems or hiding abuses. He does not defend but rather he endangers the credibility of our ideals who does not have eyes to see and the courage to speak of the contradictions of our social development. At any given time only one correct answer can be given to a concretely circumscribed question, there not being different sorts of truth. But we must also know and see that the roads leading to the truth can start from many points. Rejection of the pluralist position in the question of today is once and for all also the best possible and final answer. Nor does this mean that non-Marxists cannot approach the correct answer in partial questions, contributing to the development of an optimal solution. This contribution is necessary and indispensable from the viewpoint of the development of the sciences and the arts and from the viewpoint of the progress of society alike. It is a priority obligation of the political and professional leadership to aid, primarily by their own example, the realization of this principle which is not only morally obligatory but also obligatory for all creative work in general.

The full development of socialist democracy requires that ever greater masses take part in feeling out the alternatives and consequences, which might not be taken into consideration at first glance, of even popular decisions.

We debate because reality poses new questions and we must find together the answers to them, what we are to do here and now and what is the priority of the tasks in the interests of advancing socialism.

The ideological and political unity of the party does not rule out, indeed it presupposes, that communists will debate among themselves the experiences of work done and of development achieved and the tasks to be done, especially as they arrive at new stations of development. The ideological unity of the party develops in debates, is renewed and raised to ever higher levels.

Our debates among each other are indispensable because, among other things, our theory and our knowledge of reality alike require the control given by views opposed to one another in debates. To be a Marxist is not a condition which comes into being in some moment of a person's life, rather it is a process because the correct Marxist solutions must be fought out again and again for we do not possess the philosophers' stone and no one should think that his position is the last work of science.

But the communists should debate among themselves in such a way that every word and every emphasis expresses the fact that they belong together, expresses their comradely solidarity, their awareness of historic results achieved and the conviction that our cause can be carried forward only by collective thinking and action. He offends against the truth and against our common cause who debates in a subjectivist manner and attacks the person also of those of a different opinion or who pretends to discover an attack against his own person in all criticism.

There is an order in debates within the party, an order set by the voluntarily accepted party discipline, which demands adherence to the Lenin norms. Of primary significance for this order are the debates before decisions are made, all the way up to the highest party forums, and then the uniform execution obligatory for everyone after the decision is made. "An arbitrary, subjective interpretation of individual resolutions or positions is impermissible in the party, even though this has been found even among officials in responsible positions," Comrade Kadar said at the 11th Congress, adding that the Lenin principles "were being violated no less by those who do not uphold party democracy." That is, by those who do not respect the rights of party members, do not ask for their opinions and recommendations or who ignore them. Party members must carry out the decisions but they have the right to maintain their opinions and to continue to seek to justify them in the movement, all the way up to the congress.

The communist, who is "guided from within" by his convictions, participates in "informal" debates, which are not regulated directly by party discipline, with the responsibility to keep in mind the unwritten norms deriving from our worldview, our tasks and our problems. These are not formal rules but rather norms of communist debate morale which serve communal interests and the interests of the socialist society. The communist, when he subordinates himself to party discipline, does not give up his freedom. On the contrary, he chose the greatest freedom when he joined an organization which is most effective from the viewpoint of the development of society and the liberation of man, when he began to act.

Our party is a governing party and this has created a situation in which we, as communists, must watch our every step "as our own opposition." Carrying out this task, this self-control, means primarily our debates within the party with which we must also give an example to all social organizations and all smaller communities.

The communists are members of the organization which guides the country, members of the most powerful organization. An entire country watches their debates; they are responsible for their debates before the worker class and the entire country. The party and social public opinion judge the unity and ability of the communists by the outcome of the debates among the communists.

Our experiences teach us that debates among those who are close to one another are sometimes very sharp too. This is understandable and natural. For those are debating who are close to one another, who have the same intentions and goals, and so the sharp tone urges the best and quickest possible solution and is not intended to conjure up the specter of an imaginary enemy. There is no need to mute the sharpness or passion of the debates for this also is from the good of the struggle--to find together the optimal solutions, overcoming our own outmoded ideas as well. This is a struggle against all forms of subjectivism which we must eliminate from the polemics of those who are committed to the same cause.

We debate and we act in an awareness of our communal-spiritual responsibility. We speak modestly, without bluster, in an awareness of our truth, coolly and trusting in our future but we have no feeling of inferiority. We do not get into a euphoric state, thinking that everyone is paying attention to our words but that every historical restraint is far from us; we do not think that we cannot develop further; we believe in the possibility of socialist vistas. Bismarck said with revolting arrogance and scorn that he could not imagine a greater misfortune than to be the son of a small nation. I do not believe that true values depend only on the multitude of square kilometers or the size of population but rather much more on what a people can communicate to the world.

The foundations of our socialist system are strong. It enjoys the support of our people. We carry out active international work as an equal ranking

member of an alliance system which represents a strong and powerful force. We need not fear the opinions of our citizens or any sort of international dialog. Rather we accept with pleasure the debating word, we respect and support the right to "constructive seeking," because it is our conviction that in this way we can advance more surely, more swiftly and more easily....

8984

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### COMMENTS ON TITO'S USSR VISIT, U.S.-USSR RELATIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Aug 77 p 11 AU

[Unattributed article: "Notes, Successful Talks"]

[Text] The world press has informed its readers in prominently featured reports of an outstanding event of the week. Indeed, the talks between Leonid Brezhnev and Josip Broz Tito in Moscow can be expected to attract attention.

This particular attention is justified by the fact that all meetings have become significant junctures in the development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations. Top-level meetings and the correlation of positions have become more frequent in recent years. Contacts between representatives of state and social organizations and threads of economic cooperation are constantly increasing. Cooperation is based on mutual understanding and trust in every area. As Leonid Brezhnev put it at a dinner held in Tito's honor: "It is a case of a sincere and well-intentioned endeavor aimed at mutual understanding and trust, the respecting of each other's experiences, and the strict observance of the principles of independence and equality." The CPSU Central Committee general secretary went on to stress that the norms referred to fit completely into an all-embracing formula, according to which each revolutionary detachment must attune its independence to solidarity and cooperation serving the attainment of common objectives.

These common objectives, as well as the tensions that have existed for years or are coming about right now in various parts of the world, and the need for reducing them, were discussed at the Moscow talks. Both sides have concluded that the process of detente is continuing, despite the counterpressure of international reaction. However, renewed efforts must be made for its successful continuation.

This is urged, among other things, by the fact that lately, precisely as a result of machinations by the opponents of detente, the pace of the most important talks underway on aspects of curtailing the arms race has slowed down.

It is hardly accidental that the standstill coincided with the hostile propaganda campaign launched by certain imperialist circles against the socialist countries. This act, conceived in a cold-war atmosphere, has not even remotely promoted the strengthening of trust in international relations, above all, in Soviet-U.S. relations.

In his speech at the dinner held in Tito's honor, reacting to Carter's latest statements--of which primarily his Charleston speech has attracted the attention of international public opinion--the CPSU Central Committee general secretary declared that, "Compared with the previous moves by the U.S. administration, these have a positive sound and, if they assume the form of practical steps, then the Soviet Union will willingly participate in a quest for mutually acceptable solutions."

Not only in words, but also in deeds, the Soviet Union has proven on several occasions that it is ready to do all it can to generally improve Soviet-U.S. relations, and to curb the arms race, which is the most urgent task.

It is only natural that, following the contradictory statements made by the partner recently, the Soviet side expects practical steps and positive deeds. Only these can serve as yardsticks for the good intentions declared in Charleston. And the U.S. Government will have an opportunity for this at the next Gromyko-Vance meeting scheduled for September in Vienna.

A U.S. State Department spokesman has appraised positively Leonid Brezhnev's statements, and expressed the willingness of the U.S. Government to discuss issues of mutual interest to the Soviet Union and the United States.

CSO: 2500



RAYZACHER COMMENTS ON BELGRADE MEETING

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 27, 2 Jul 77 p 2

[Article by Andrzej Rayzacher: "What Kind of Autumn Will It Be?"]

[Text] In accordance with the provision contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, on 15 June a preparatory meeting began in the "Sava" Congress Center in Belgrade for the purpose of organizing a conference of delegates appointed by ministers of foreign affairs of 35 state-signatories of the Helsinki document. Approximately 600 journalists from almost all over the world have been accredited there. Undoubtedly the "Belgrade 77" is a meaningful international event; however, we should realize its actual scope.

We quote the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: "The preparatory meeting will decide on the date, duration, agenda and other conditions of the conference of delegates appointed by ministers of foreign affairs" of the 35 state-participants in the Helsinki "summit." The agenda of the preparatory meeting adopted on the basis of the Spanish proposal very promptly, already on the third day of the proceedings, stipulates:

1. Official opening of the meeting (this point concluded on 15 June);
2. Adoption of the agenda (which took place on 17 June);
3. Preparation of the agenda for the main conference;
4. Matters of operational organization and other decisions concerning the main conference;
5. Setting of the opening date and the duration of the main conference;
6. Adoption of the final document of the main conference.

At present the third point is under way in Belgrade. The discussion is dealing with three proposals of the agenda, namely, the U.S.-British, the Soviet and that of the group of nine European neutral and nonaligned governments. In the following weeks--it is assumed that the preparatory meeting will continue until the middle, or at the most until the end of July--it will act on the procedural matters for the main conference as well as set the date of its opening and its duration.

It is evident from this schedule that it concerns mostly problems of an organizational-technical nature. The level of the delegations has been chosen so as to correspond to that thematic area. As a rule, they are composed of ambassadors (in a few instances delegations are led by under-secretaries of state or plenipotentiary ministers) as well as experts. The majority of those present in the "Sava" building conference hall--about 200 diplomats and experts--are "veterans" of the Geneva stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, individuals perfectly acquainted with the problems, the business of negotiation and also with each other. This facilitates the work and assures proper objectivity of the discussions.

The success or defeat of the autumn stage of the conference will depend on the present stage of "Belgrade 77." The autumn in Belgrade will be beneficial if the meeting at that time becomes a constructive dialogue; it will be unfavorable if a confrontation takes place.

The Soviet proposal for the agenda (backed by other socialist countries) is undoubtedly in conformity with the Final Act. The Soviet document proposes the adoption of an adjusted formula of the Final Act: "To continue the multilateral process initiated by the Conference by conducting an intensive exchange of views concerning both the compliance with the decisions of the Final Act and the implementation of the tasks stipulated by the conference as well as--in the context of the problems discussed there--concerning the improvement of their mutual relations, consolidation of security and development of cooperation in Europe, and development of the process of detente in the future."

The agenda thus formulated would permit a free and thorough exchange of views on all subjects specified in the Final Act. Thus, a broad review of a broad spectrum of problems would be possible, not only a simple account of them, as has been done so far. The recommendations and proposals concerning the security and cooperation in Europe would be outlined on a common basis. This also would make possible an examination of specific methods for the convocation of other meetings.

The two other proposals for the agenda--the U.S.-British (submitted on 15 June and sponsored by the European Common Market "nine") as well as the proposal of the group of neutral and nonaligned governments--Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Liechtenstein, Malta, San Marino, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia (submitted on 22 June) also refer to the Final Act. The Western proposal separates the static factor from the dynamic factor of the intensive exchange of views by including discussions concerning the implementation of the Helsinki principles in the first point and the tasks and proposals in the area of increased security and cooperation in the future in the second point. The appendix dealing with the procedure proposes discussions for evaluating (no such expression appears in the Final Act) the implementation of the principles according to the "baskets" of the Helsinki document.

The proposal of the neutral and nonaligned countries is undoubtedly closer to the Final Act than the Western proposal. It contains three points. The first one corresponds with the Soviet proposal; however, it is divided into two paragraphs, whereby it is closer to the Western proposal on the issue of the division of discussions of the past and of the future. The other two points deal with the methods of convening subsequent meetings and with the final document of the main conference, which, in the opinion of the authors, should also set the place and date of the next meeting.

The proposal submitted by the group of nine states met with a favorable reception and, in general, it has become the basis for the search for a compromise formula for the agenda. The Polish delegation submitted three amendments to that proposal, so as to bring it into agreement with the context of the Final Act. The first of them proposes to eliminate the division of Point 1 into two paragraphs; thus, the discussion in depth would be of a character that is in agreement with the integral character of the Final Act where all the "baskets" carry the same weight, just as the implementation of its principles as well as the development of the process of detente, security and cooperation in the future must carry the same weight. The purpose of the second amendment is not to prejudge at the present, preparatory stage of "Belgrade 77" whether and when any follow-up, similar conferences should be convoked without knowing the results of the autumn conferences. The aim of the third amendment is that the context of the final document be not determined beforehand, by the agenda of the meeting.

The amendments proposed by Poland were favorably received by the authors--the delegations of the "group of nine"--and also by several Western delegations, particularly that of France which stressed their constructive and creative character.

The delegations with which I had the opportunity to speak (those of the socialist, Western as well as neutral states) emphasized the substantive character of the discussions and the working atmosphere of the meetings. A flexible form is used in order to find possible solutions acceptable to all: discussions at the plenary meetings, multilateral round-table conferences and also bilateral consultations. The delegates of groups of states and also of the USSR and the United States, for example, have been meeting together. The lowest evaluation of such contacts has been expressed as "useful." Nobody has mentioned any "tensions" or "confrontations" or "polemics."

Certain circles are trying to create a specific atmosphere outside the conference hall in the "Sava" building. On 15 June the Yugoslav authorities deported a group of 14 "tourists" and one journalist who tried to disrupt the proceedings of the conference by a provocative street demonstration. Speaking on the opening day of the conference the Yugoslav foreign minister Milos Minic characterized such forces and groups as those who trying to impair detente would not shirk from the use of any means,

from propaganda campaigns to various forms of pressure and terrorist acts." Also, the voice of the reactionary press in the West and the voices that are heard from the White House and the Capitol have had a negative influence. Some individuals in Washington are hoping to turn "Belgrade 77" into a "tribunal" which would serve as a festival for attacks against the socialist states.

It is no secret in Belgrade that most of the United States' West European allies are not in favor of that. They are afraid that the tensions generated by the campaign of the White House leader might jeopardize what the West and East of Europe have achieved by their great negotiating efforts in the area of security, cooperation and humanitarian problems and that they might aggravate further progress in those areas. As one Westerner said in a conversation with me: the more tensions, the less confidence; the less confidence, the less freedom to travel and to have contacts, and so much worse so for human rights.

9004

CSO: 2600

LEGAL JOURNAL PUBLISHES AMNESTY DECREE

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 24, 21 Jul 77 pp 213-217

[Decree of the Council of State, issued 21 July: "Amnesty"]

[Text] The Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, guided by the principles of social humanism and taking into consideration:

--Propitious realization of the socialist program of changes in our society and maintenance of the moral and political unit of the nation,

--A steady growth in social discipline and improvement in the state of security and legal order, with a simultaneous rise in the level of the legal education and awareness of citizens of the PRL [Polish People's Republic], and

--Conditions favoring a rapid return to normal life and the acceptance of socially useful work by persons who, despite a transgression of the law, cherish the hope of complying with the principles of legal order in the future,

Resolve the following:

Article 1. 1. In matters of crimes, including financial ones, committed before 15 July 1977, there will be remitted:

- 1) The penalty of loss of freedom prescribed for a period of up to 1 year;
- 2) The penalty of loss of freedom prescribed for a period of up to 3 years;
  - a) For women who, on the day this decree went into effect, had charge of children under 18 years of age, for whom parents are responsible,
  - b) Persons who, on the day this decree went into effect, had completed their 50th year (women) or 60th year (men),

- c) Persons who were under 18 years of age when they committed their crime,
- d) Persons who, as the only support on the day this decree went into effect, had care of infirm persons or persons over 70 years of age;
- 3) The penalty of restricted freedom and a substitute penalty made for it;
- 4) A fine in amounts up to 2,000 zlotys prescribed as a complete penalty; and
- 5) The penalty of military arrest.

2. In the case of remission of the basic penalty, additional penalties of loss of public rights and unfulfilled additional penalties of public pronouncement of sentence will be remitted in a special way.

3. Legally valid sentences concerning the loss of parental or guardian rights, prohibition against taking certain jobs, exercising certain trades or performing certain activity, prohibition against driving mechanical vehicles, confiscation of property, loss of possessions, demotion, reduction in military rank, protective supervision, lodging in a center of social accommodation, the obligation of working for pay, including points mentioned in Article 34, Section 3 of the Penal Code, as well as those concerning damages, civil complaints and sentencing by virtue of compensation will be carried out.

4. The regulations of paragraphs 2 and 3 will be duly used in cases where the penalty is not remitted because it has been fulfilled.

Article 2. 1. Proceedings are discontinued in the following cases committed before 15 July 1977:

- 1) Crimes, including financial ones, punishable by loss of freedom for up to 2 years, by a restriction on freedom or a fine, or by loss of freedom for up to 2 years and a fine or by a more moderate penalty;
- 2) Crimes, including financial ones, punishable by loss of freedom for up to 3 years or a fine, or both together, committed by:
  - a) Women who, on the day this decree went into effect, had charge of children under 18 years of age for whom the parents are responsible,
  - b) Persons who, on the day this decree went into effect were 50 years old (women) or 60 years old (men),
  - c) Persons who were not yet 18 years old when the crime was committed,
  - d) Persons who, as the only support on the day this decree went into effect, were responsible for infirm persons or persons over 70 years of age;

3) Crimes, including financial ones, if the circumstances of the case show that they would receive a sentence subject to remission.

2. If the reasons indicated in paragraph 1, point 2, or other particular circumstances support it, the Procurator General of the Polish People's Republic in agreement with the Minister of Justice, can suspend proceedings in the case of a crime punishable more severely than is mentioned in paragraph 1, but not by more than 10 years of loss of freedom, regardless of exclusions established in article 4, point 11.

3. In case proceedings are discontinued:

1) There will be a sentence of confiscation of the tools of the crime and of objects, the possession of which is illicit or requires a permit;

2) If a particular regulation so states, there may be a sentence of forfeiture of other objects defined in article 48 of the Penal Code, in special regulations and in article 16, section 1, of the Financial Penal Law.

4. In dropping proceedings in a case of a crime prosecuted by a private plaintiff, the private plaintiff will be repaid by the criminal a value equal to the cost of the crime at a fixed rate of payment, unless a decision has already been given that it was illegal.

Article 3. In the case of crimes, including financial ones, committed before 15 July 1977, in which a sentence more severe than described in article 1, paragraph 1, was handed down:

1) Advanced, conditional freedom may be given after 1/3 of the sentence has been carried out, regardless of the compulsory 6 months:

a) If the penalty of loss of freedom is more than 1 year and up to 3 years,

b) If the penalty of loss of freedom is for more than 3 years and up to 5 years for an involuntary crime; this does not refer to penalties of loss of freedom for the crime of involuntary manslaughter defined in article 152 of the Penal Code,

c) If the penalty of loss of freedom is more than 3 years and up to 5 years for:

--Women who, on the day this decree went into effect, had charge of children under 18 years of age, for whom the parents are responsible,

--Persons who, on the day this decree went into effect, were 55 years old (women) or 65 years old (men),

- d) If the penalty of loss of freedom was imposed on a juvenile;
- 2) Advanced, conditional release in cases other than those defined in point 1 can take place after fulfillment of half of the penalty of loss of freedom pronounced in the range up to 15 years.

Article 4. Amnesty will not apply:

- 1) To felonies defined in article 1, point 1, of the decree of 31 August 1954 on the allotment of punishment for fascist and Hitlerite felons guilty of homicide and mistreatment of the civil population and of prisoners of war, and for traitors to the Polish Nation (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1946, No 69, item 377, with later modifications), and for other military crimes and crimes against the People;
- 2) To felonies defined in articles 122, 124, 127 and 131 of the Penal Code, to crimes defined in article 125 in connection with articles 122 and 124, and in article 128, section 1, in connection with articles 122, 124 and 127 of the Penal Code, as well as to crimes defined in article 129 in connection with these regulations;
- 3) To the crime of homicide defined in article 148, section 1, of the Penal Code;
- 4) To felonies defined in article 134 of the Penal Code and in articles 201 and 202, section 2, of this code, if property of a certain value was appropriated, as well as to persons organizing or directing the commission of crimes by other persons based on the appropriation of social property in concert with other persons, without regard to the amount of damage caused;
- 5) To felonies described in article 135 of the Penal Code and to foreign exchange crimes and crimes in the area of customs duties and goods exchange abroad, for which a sentence has been given which is not subject to remission on the basis of article 1, paragraph 1, or, if the circumstances of the case, in particular with regard to the value of the article in the crime or the amount of reduced customs duty, show that such a penalty should be imposed;
- 6) To crimes of robbery and paid protection defined in articles 239, 240 and 241, sections 1, 3 and 4 of the Penal Code, in article 242 in association with regulations and article 244 of the Penal Code, for which a penalty was set of loss of freedom in an amount greater than 1 year without conditional suspension of its performance, or if the circumstances of the case show that such a penalty should be imposed;



- 7) To crimes defined in articles 136 and 323, section 2, of the Penal Code, committed in a state of intoxication and to the crime defined in article 145, section 2, of this Code, committed by a person driving a mechanical vehicle in a state of intoxication, if a human death was the result of these crimes;
- 8) To the felony of arson defined in article 138, section 1, of the Penal Code;
- 9) To crimes of rape defined in article 168 of the Penal Code;
- 10) To crimes of robbery and predatory blackmail defined in articles 210 and 211 of the Penal Code;
- 11) To repeated crimes committed under conditions defined in article 60 of the Penal Code, for which the penalty was set at loss of freedom in an amount greater than 6 months, or if the circumstances of the case show that such a penalty should be imposed; as an exception this does not apply to perpetrators who were not yet 18 years old at the time the last crime was committed;
- 12) To crimes of a hooligan nature, unless the perpetrator was not yet 18 years old at the time of the commission of the act, and the penalty imposed of loss of freedom or restricted freedom does not exceed 6 months, or if the circumstances of the case show that such penalties should be imposed.

Article 5. 1. The regulations in articles 1-3 do not apply to crimes committed before 15 July 1977, if their perpetrators were not known to the organs appointed to prosecute crimes on the day this decree went into effect.

2. The regulation in paragraph 1 does not apply if the perpetrator of a crime, spoken of in this regulation, turns himself in before 15 July 1978 to the organ appointed to prosecute crimes and reveals the essential circumstances of the act and the persons who cooperated with him in the commission of this crime.

3. In the case mentioned in paragraph 2 where the regulations of the decree are duly applied:

- 1) Penal proceedings will be dropped if the crime is punishable by loss of freedom for up to 5 years, loss of freedom for up to 5 years and a fine, or by a more lenient penalty;
- 2) Penal proceedings will be dropped if the circumstances of the case show that the penalty of loss of freedom should be imposed for the crime, not to exceed 5 years;

3) In the case of imposition of the penalty of loss of freedom for a period more than 5 years and up to 15 years:

a) There will be a reduction by one-half of the penalty of loss of freedom and of a fine, if one was also imposed,

b) In particularly justified cases and on the motion of the procurator, the court can even remit the penalty of the perpetrator; in this case the regulation of paragraph 4 is duly applied;

4) The death penalty is not applied.

4. In the case of suspension of proceedings:

1) There shall be a forfeiture of the tools of the crime and of the objects, the possession of which is illicit or requires a permit;

2) If a particular regulation so states, there can be an imposition of forfeiture of other objects defined in article 48 of the Penal Code, in special regulations and in article 16, section 1, of the Financial Penalty Law.

5. The regulations of paragraph 3 and 4 are also applied to crimes committed before 15 July 1977 which, in the sense of article 4, points 2-12, are not subject to amnesty, and also to continuing crimes, if the perpetrator gives himself up before 15 July 1978 to the organ appointed to prosecute crimes, and reveals the essential circumstances of the act and the persons who cooperated with him in the commission of this crime.

6. In cases defined in paragraphs 3 and 5 provisional arrest will not apply in the preliminary proceedings.

Article 6. 1. In cases of misdemeanor, including financial ones, committed before 15 July 1977, proceedings will be dropped; penalty in whole or in part not performed and costs of the crime not recovered will be remitted; however, this remission does not refer to fines and payments imposed in an amount greater than 2,000 zlotys as the complete punishment nor to fines, without regard to their amount, imposed along with the penalty of arrest.

2. Legally valid sentences of damages, of the obligation of performing paid work mentioned in article 21, section 3, of the Code of Misdemeanors, of the obligation of paying the equivalent value of damage caused or the equivalent value of property which was the object of a misdemeanor, of the obligation of restoration to a previous conditions, of the prohibition of driving mechanical vehicles and of forfeiture of possessions can be carried out.

3. In case proceedings are dropped:

- 1) There will be a sentence of forfeiture of the tools of the misdemeanor and of objects, the possession of which is illicit or requires a permit;
- 2) If a particular regulation so states, there may be an imposition of forfeiture of other objects defined in article 30 of the Code of Misdemeanors, in special regulations and in article 16, section 1, in connection with article 36 of the Financial Penal Law.

4. The regulations of paragraph 1-3 are not applied to misdemeanors committed before 15 July 1977, if the perpetrator was not known to the organs appointed to prosecute, on the day this decree went into effect, unless the perpetrator of the misdemeanor turns himself in before 15 July 1978 to the organ appointed to prosecute, and reveals the essential circumstances of the act and the persons who cooperated with him in the commission of this misdemeanor.

Article 7. An organ utilizing amnesty can compel a person, for whom it remits a penalty or drops charges, to accept a steady paying job, within 2 months from the date amnesty is granted, fulfillment of the duty resting on the perpetrator to contribute to the support of another person, reparation in whole or in part of damage caused by the crime, of remaining away from certain environments or places, or to other reasonable behavior.

Article 8. 1. In the case of a concurrence of crimes subject to amnesty, amnesty will be applied to each of the concurrent crimes. In the case of a concurrence of a crime subject to amnesty and a crime not subject to amnesty, amnesty will be applied to the crime subject to amnesty.

2. After amnesty has been granted to the extent needed, the total penalty will be imposed according to general principles.

Article 9. 1. The regulations of the decree will be applied to penalties which have already been lessened by amnesty or which are merciful, taking the reduced penalty as a basis.

2. If only the total penalty has been reduced by amnesty or by mercy, it is considered that penalties levied for individually concurrent crimes were reduced by the amount of the total penalty reduced.

Article 10. 1. If the perpetrator of a crime, including financial ones, who has been granted amnesty, commits within 3 years from the date this decree went into effect a new deliberate crime, for which the penalty of loss of freedom is imposed, the previously issued sentence granting amnesty is subject to nullification, and the remitted or reduced sentence can be carried out to the extent determined by the previous judgment, and the proceedings which were dropped will be reinstated.

2. In case of evasion from fulfilling the obligation of paid work defined in article 1, paragraph 3, in article 6, paragraph 2, and in article 7, or evasion of other obligations mentioned in article 7, the previously issued sentence for which amnesty was granted can be nullified in accord with paragraph 1, unless a period of 2 years has passed since the legally valid date of this sentence.

3. In computing the penalty of loss of freedom, the period will be counted during which the perpetrator was already deprived of his freedom in a given matter until the time of his release from detention or a penal institution on the basis of amnesty.

Article 11. 1. The court responsible for examining a given case will make use of amnesty.

2. In preliminary proceedings a procurator can make use of amnesty, but the court may order on the motion of the procurator:

1) Dropping of the proceedings on the basis of article 2, paragraph 1, point 3, and article 5, paragraph 3, point 2;

2) The forfeiture of articles mentioned in article 2, paragraph 3, point 2, and in article 5, paragraph 4, point 2.

3. In matters of financial crimes falling within the administrative competence of sentencing organs and in cases of financial misdemeanor, these organs will make use of amnesty.

4. In cases of misdemeanor amnesty will be used by misdemeanor commissions, but the remission of unpaid fines imposed as a penal mandate does not require publication of a decision.

5. In the case of persons discharging the penalty of loss of freedom, of military arrest and of arrest, if there is no need to impose a total penalty, amnesty can be used by the voivodship court within the confines of which the penalty was imposed, and by a military court in the area of competency of military courts; the court's decision will be made with only one judge sitting.

Article 12. 1. Sentences in the matter of amnesty will take the form of decisions, unless amnesty is used in the sentence; in cases recognized for hearing on remission or reduction of a penalty, judgment will be made in the sentence.

2. A complaint can be lodged in the proceedings on the matter of amnesty. In cases mentioned in article 11, paragraph 5, the voivodship court or the military court, with three judges sitting, can recognize a complaint.

Article 13. 1. An accused person, suspect or defendant, in relation to whom proceedings were dropped on the basis of the decree, at the latest 30 days from the date the decision to drop the proceedings was delivered to him or announced, can present the organ which made the decision with a motion for examination of the case.

2. In case a motion is made to examine the case, the proceedings continuing will concern basic principles; if, as a result of these proceedings the accused or defendant is adjudged guilty of the action attributed to him, amnesty will be used if this deed is subject to amnesty.

3. The regulations of paragraphs 1 and 2 are not applied in case the proceedings are dropped at a hearing after the legal proceedings are finished.

Article 14. 1. In cases mentioned in article 10 judgment will be made by the organ responsible for examining cases in which punishment is remitted on the basis of amnesty, or the organ which dropped them if proceedings are dropped.

2. The court will deliver sentence at a meeting, as if amnesty were granted in the sentence.

3. Complaints can be used at the determination.

Article 15. The proceedings in matters of amnesty will be conducted in conformity with the regulations compulsory for proceedings before the organ which handles them, if the regulations of the present decree do not state otherwise.

Article 16. 1. In the first instance release from penal institutions and from detention on the basis of amnesty will concern:

1) Those serving the penalty of loss of freedom, military arrest and arrest:

a) Women who, on the day this decree went into effect, had charge of children under 18 years of age, for whom the parents are responsible,

b) Persons who, on the day this decree went into effect, were 50 years old (women) or 60 years old (men),

c) Persons who were not yet 18 years old at the time the crime was committed,

d) Persons who were the only support and were responsible for infirm persons or persons over 70 years old on the day this decree went into effect;

2) Persons provisionally arrested.

2. Other persons not mentioned in paragraph 1 can be released in turn according to the decisions of the organ applying amnesty properly in regard to the amount of punishment and the conditions of adjustment to a life of freedom by the released persons, in no case later than 31 August 1977.

Article 17. This decree goes into effect on 22 July 1977.

Chairman of the Council of State: H. Jablonski  
Secretary of the Council of State: L. Stasiak

6806

CSO: 2600

POLAND

ADMINISTRATIVE BORDER CHANGES ANNOUNCED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 24, 21 Jul 77 pp 217-219

[Decree of the Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, issued 6 July 1977: "Changes in the Borders of Some Cities in the Warsaw Capital, Bydgoszcz, Ciechanow, Gorzow, Jelenia Gora, Leszczyn, Nowy Sacz, Olsztyn, Ostroleka, Poznan, Rzeszow, Tarnobrzeg, Torun and Walbrzych Voivodships"]

[Text] On the basis of article 4, paragraph 2, of the law of 28 May 1975 on the 2-step administrative division of the State and on the change in the law on people's councils (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 16, item 91), the following is decreed:

Section 1. Included in the voivodship of the capital city of Warsaw are:

1) Into the capital city of Warsaw:

a) The territory of Ursus,

b) From the gmina of Nieporet the area of the village administrations of Augustow, Augustowek, Brzezina, Grodzisk, Katy Grodziskie, Kobialka, Lewandow, Manki-Wojdy, Olesin and Szamocin,

c) From the gmina of Jablonna the area of the village administration of Kepa Tarchomska and part of the area of the village administration of Jablonna with an area of 690 hectares,

2) To the city of Konstancina-Jeziorna from the gmina of Konstancina-Jeziorna the territory of the villages of Chylice-Cegielnia, Cegielnia-Obory, Skolimow C, Skolimow-Village, Nowe and Stare Wierzbno,

3) to the city of Nowy Dwor Mazowiecki from the gmina of Jablonna part of the area of the village administration of Wolka Gorska with an area of 32 hectares.

Section 2. Incorporated into the Bydgoszcz voivodship are:

1) To the city of Bydgoszcz:

a) From the gmina of Osielsko the areas of the villages of Czarnowko, Loskon and Smukala Dolna, and part of the area of the village of Mariampol with an area of 673.35 hectares, part of the area of the village of Myslecinek with an area of 295.74 hectares, part of the area of the village of Niemcz with an area of 2,051.59 hectares and part of the area of the village of Zamczysko with an area of 104.81 hectares,

b) From the gmina of Solec Kujawski the territory of the villages of Legnowo and Platnowo and part of the area of the village of Wypaleniska with an area of 254.27 hectares,

2) To the city of Chojnice from the gmina of Chojnice part of the area of the village of Angowice with an area of 54.08 hectares, part of the area of the village of Krojanty with an area of 22.62 hectares, and part of the area of the village of Pawlowko with an area of 102.94 hectares,

3) To the gmina of Nowa Wies Wielka from the city of Bydgoszcz a territory with an area of 944.19 hectares.

Section 3. Incorporated into the Ciechanow voivodship are:

1) Into the city of Ciechanow from the gmina of Ciechanow territories from the village administrations of Gostkowo, Krubin and Krubinek, and part of the territory of the village administration of Bielin with an area of 197.61 hectares, part of the area of the village administration of Chruszczewo with an area of 8.62 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Gaski with an area of 4.11 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Gredzice with an area of 218.94 hectares, part of the area of the village administration of Neichodzin with an area of 236.92 hectares, part of the area of the village administration of Pecacin with an area of 22.48 hectares and part of the area of the village administration of Smiecin with an area of 306.41 hectares,

2) To the gmina of Opinogora Gorna from the city of Ciechanow, territory with an area of 501.16 hectares.

Section 4. Into the city of Gorzow Wielkopolski in the Gorzow voivodship are incorporated:

1) From the gmina of Bogdaniec the territory from the village administration of Chroscik and part of the territory of the village administration of Wieprzyce with an area of 69.56 hectares,



2) From the gmina of Deszczno the territory of the village administration of Zieleniec and part of the territory of the village administration of Karnin with an area of 231 hectares,

3) From the gmina of Klodawa part of the area of the village administration of Chwalecice with an area of 155.82 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Klodawa with an area of 170.76 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Malyszyn with an area of 373.78 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Santocko with an area of 136.58 hectares,

4) From the gmina of Lubiszyn part of the territory of the village administration of Baczyna with an area of 210.49 hectares,

5) From the gmina of Santok part of the territory of the village administration of Wawrow with an area of 100.71 hectares.

Section 5. In the Jelenia Gora province part of the territory of the village of Uniegoszcz with an area of 2.06 hectares from the gmina of Luban is incorporated into the city of Luban.

Section 6. Incorporated into the Leszczyn voivodship are:

1) To the city of Leszno:

a) From the gmina of Lipno part of the territory of the village of Gronowo with an area of 596.38 hectares,

b) From the gmina of Swieciechowa part of the territory of the village of Zaborowo with an area of 370.73 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Strzyzewice with an area of 254.21 hectares and part of the territory of the village of Swieciechowa with an area of 4.60 hectares,

2) To the city of Rawicz from the gmina of Rawicz part of the territory of the village of Sierakowo with an area of 45.13 hectares.

Section 7. Incorporated into the Nowy Sacz voivodship are, into the city of Limanowa from the gmina of Limanowa part of the territory of the village of Koszary with an area of 44 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Lipowe with an area of 170 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Lososina Gorna with an area of 171 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Sowliny with an area of 298 hectares and part of the territory of the village of Stara Wies with an area of 65 hectares.

Section 8. Into the Olsztyn voivodship are incorporated:

1) Into the city of Bartoszyce from the gmina of Bartoszyce part of the territory of the village administration of Dabrowa with an area of 36 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Falczewo with an area

of 17 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Polecze with an area of 8 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Wawrzyny with an area of 30 hectares,

2) Into the city of Ilawa from the gmina of Ilawa part of the territory of the village administration of Dziarny with an area of 12 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Nowa Wies with an area of 160 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Stradomno with an area of 254 hectares, and part of the territory of the village administration of Wola Kamienska with an area of 40 hectares,

3) To the gmina of Ilawa from the city of Ilawa part of the territory of Jeziorak lake with an area of 520 hectares,

4) To the city of Ketrzyn from the gmina of Ketrzyn part of the territory of the village administration of Biedaszki with an area of 37.51 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Czerniki with an area of 4.02 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Gnatowo with an area of 13.18 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Kruszewiec with an area of 78.39 hectares,

5) To the city of Nidzica from the gmina of Nidzica part of the territory of the village administration of Litwinki with an area of 28.23 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Waszulki with an area of 53.43 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Tatary with an area of 9.50 hectares,

6) To the city of Olsztyn:

a) From the gmina of Barczewo part of the territory of the village administration of Nikielkowo with an area of 287 hectares,

b) From the gmina of Dywity part of the territory of the village administration of Kiezliny with an area of 86 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Zalbki with an area of 139 hectares,

c) From the gmina of Jonkowo part of the territory of the village administration of Gutkowo with an area of 181 hectares,

d) From the gmina of Purda part of the territory of the village administration of Ostrzeszewo with an area of 146 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Szczesne with an area of 96 hectares,

e) From the gmina of Stawiguda part of the territory of the village administration of Jaroty with an area of 713 hectares,

7) To the city of Ostroda from the gmina of Ostroda part of the territory of the village administration of Gorka with an area of 113.51 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Kajkowo with an area of 93.34 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Ostrow with an area of 250.21 hectares.

Section 9. Territory with an area of 25.65 hectares is incorporated from the city of Brok into the gmina of Brok in the Ostroleka voivodship.

Section 10. Incorporated into the Poznon voivodship are:

1) To the city of Gniezno:

a) From the gmina of Gniezno the territories of the village administrations of Roza and Pustachowa, part of the territory of the village administration of Arkuszewo with an area of 316.04 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Dalki with an area of 60.75 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Mnichowo with an area of 3.04 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Piekary with an area of 163.72 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Pyszczynek with an area of 124.28 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Pyszczyń with an area of 131.47 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Skierszewo with an area of 119.63 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Welnica with an area of 8.71 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Winiary with an area of 62.18 hectares,

b) From the gmina of Niechanowo part of the territory of the village administration of Goczalkowo with an area of 42.78 hectares,

2) To the city of Wrzesnia from the gmina of Wrzesnia part of the territory of the village administration of Przyborki with an area of 27.23 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Psary Polskie with an area of 17.91 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Bierzglinek with an area of 20.84 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Oblaczkowo with an area of 0.34 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Bialezyce with an area of 1.99 hectares,

3) To the gmina of Wrzesnia from the city of Wrzesnia territory with an area of 74.37 hectares.

Section 11. To the city of Nowa Sarzyna in the Rzeszow voivodship are incorporated from the gmina of Nowa Sarzyna part of the territory of the village administration of Ruda Lancucka with an area of 181.99 hectares, part of the territory of the village administration of Sarzyna with an area of 59.98 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Jelna with an area of 19.90 hectares.

Section 12. Incorporated into the city of Nowa Deba in the Tarnobrzeg voivodship are from the gmina of Nowa Deba part of the territory of the village administration of Deba with an area of 449.02 hectares and part of the territory of the village administration of Poreby Debskie with an area of 276.45 hectares.

Section 13. Incorporated into the Torun voivodship are:

1) To the city of Brodnica from the gmina of Brodnica part of the territory of the village of Cieleta Wybudowanie with an area of 410.56 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Moczadlo with an area of 395.85 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Szabda with an area of 224.51 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Kruszyński with an area of 42.54 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Karbowo with an area of 151.76 hectares and part of the territory of the village of Nowy Dwor-Bobrowiska with an area of 40.97 hectares.

2) To the city of Nowe Miasto Lubawskie from the gmina of Nowe Miasto Lubawskie part of the territory of the village of Bratian with an area of 21.01 hectares, part of the territory of the village of Nawra with an area of 23.40 hectares and part of the territory of the village of Pacoltowo with an area of 250.66 hectares.

Section 14. Part of the territory of the village administration of Pszenno, with an area of 41.70 hectares, is incorporated from the gmina of Swidnica into the city of Swidnica in the Walbrzych voivodship.

Section 15. Voivodship orders will provide for detailed descriptions of the borders of the cities mentioned in sections 2-14, and the Mayor of the Capital City of Warsaw will do so for the cities mentioned in section 1. The orders will be published in the official newspapers of the voivodship people's councils, and in the DZIENNIK URZĘDOWY RADY NARODOWEJ of the Capital City of Warsaw in respect to the voivodship of the Capital City of Warsaw.

Section 16. This decree takes effect on 1 August 1977.

Minister of Administration, Local Economy  
and Environmental Protection: M. Milczarek

6806

CSO: 2600

COMMENTS ON POSSIBILITIES, PROSPECTS OF CSCE

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 30, 22 Jul 77 pp 1, 3-4

[Article by Janusz Stefanowicz, editor-in-chief of SLOWO POWSZECHNIE:  
"Helsinki, Belgrade in Historical Perspective"]

[Excerpts] I have been asked to depict the situation in Europe from Helsinki to Belgrade. I approach this not so much as a recollection of political events, well known to this group,\* but as an inclination to look at a current moment in the history of Europe in terms of the broader intervals of Europe's fortunes, a moment symbolically exemplified by the ratification of The Final Act at Helsinki, to look at it from the viewpoint of the past, that is, to what extent the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) draws upon Europe's experiences to date, and to look at it from the perspective of the future, which leads to the question: Can we count on the creation of a stabilized system of security and cooperation in Europe?

How should the accomplishments of CSCE to date be assessed? I am not thinking of a detailed analysis. I do not wish to anticipate Belgrade or concern myself with the realization of individual elements of The Final Act. I am concerned with the general question: In the final analysis, has or has not CSCE helped the process of detente in Europe? The question is only outwardly absurd. Two years ago we assumed that formulating the principle of coexistence would, obviously, thrust the coexistence process forward. And I continue to assume so. Nonetheless, one cannot forget the fact that immediately following the CSCE, international tensions increased because of various coincidences, both between the United States and the Soviet Union (above all I refer to the involvement of President Carter) as well as in the European theater, and the activization of the forces of the Cold War against cooperation with the socialist countries ensued, and that we now see the intensification of the ideological battle and also ideological diversions by the West against the socialist countries. In turn, in the socialist

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\* Comprehensive fragments of a paper delivered at a session of the Polish Club of International Publicists from 10 to 21 June 1977 in Zagan.

countries The Final Act, just like the Human Rights Pact, was, to a certain degree, a pretext for action by dissident forces. Thus, one also hears the opinion that, in practice, the CSCE interfered with the detente process because of the forced compromises at the conference itself, the diversity of interpretations that arose after the conference, the fears aroused in reactionary circles and the excessive expectations that were not fulfilled.

From the viewpoint of the actual status of things, such an evaluation contains within it a great deal of truth. However, if one looks upon the phenomenon of detente over a longer time period, then I am inclined to believe that that type of reaction was inevitable. What is more, in this context Belgrade has fulfilled its role as a catalyst because the intensification of disputes and tensions prior to Belgrade cleared the field, cleared the air, and will allow the Belgrade meeting to occur in unclouded waters. If the philosophy of detente as represented by The Final Act survives Belgrade--and I believe it will--or, in other words, if the conviction about the vitality and the need to realize The Final Act as a whole endures, then it will signify that the CSCE will survive a trial by fire and will become a fundamental component of European policy, and, through that, of global policy also.

This brings to the fore an even broader question: Has the CSCE brought us nearer to collective security in Europe? As we know, the word "security" is contained in its designation, and numerous resolutions indicate this. Nonetheless, the matter remains debatable.

Collective security, as understood in the literal sense, differs from other concepts of maintaining world peace, with the emphasis placed on reciprocity and solidarity. Similar to balance of power, it is not aimed against any particular enemy or any particular threat specified in advance, but it is directed against any power capable of aggression. In turn, as a "peace-regulator" model it is based on certain binding obligations (in this case, on mutual guarantees for common action against any aggressor) rather than empirical moves by the individually participating allies as in a balance of power system. It represents a balance of power, but its aim is to convert it into a positive system of obligations, encompassing all participants in the system and not only the great powers.

Collective security implies the absence of specific combinations directed against a predetermined opponent. Instead it assumes anonymity of the aggressor and the organization of all the countries of a given region or of the world in a system capable of resisting any aggressor in the defense and name of any member of the system.

Collective security is defined as "a system based on the universal obligation of all nations to join forces against an aggressor state as soon as the fact has been established, by predetermined procedure, that aggression has occurred." (Incidentally, let us add that till now all efforts of the UN, and before that the League of Nations, to define aggression proved abortive).

I believe--although it is a brash opinion--that the ideological division of the modern world will remain a barrier to the creation of a collective security system for a long time.

Just as a system of alliances, a collective security system, in the final analysis, must be based on compatibility of state, national and mutual interests. We have not yet reached this state in Europe, and no doubt it will not be reached in the foreseeable future. We will probably interpret this compatibility of interests very fundamentally and generally as a solidarity to avoid war. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the important achievement of the CSCE and The Final Act is not at all that there is less risk of war in Europe. This risk was just as great during the Cold War period, but, above all, the guarantee for peace here is the balance of nuclear power and the capacity of the great powers for mutual extermination and self-extermination. However, the service performed by the CSCE is its effort to generate parallelism or similarity of certain interests during the peace consolidation process. But will this lead to the creation of a unified European system?

The discussions during the CSCE working phase in Geneva, the differences in the manifest of The Final Act that followed, and, finally, the initial Belgrade struggles present no basis for such a prognosis. To document our viewpoint, let us review these events:

Concerning Geneva, the difficulties and disputes in the political commission revolved about the problem of the inviolability of borders in Europe, the principle of which some Western countries, and in particular the FRG, wanted to supplement or rather to muddy with conditions that would allow frontier changes by peaceful means. Because of the officially argued possibility of unifying countries within the framework of the Western European union, as anticipated in EEC resolutions that are known to us, the socialist countries agreed to consider the said clause but on the basis of sovereignty with which it is logically linked (the relinquishment of some or all sovereign rights in the case of the unification of several countries actually is an attribute of sovereignty). We also were concerned with one of the most important principles--the inviolability of borders. We want to maintain this principle in a crystal pure state, also in dispute was the precedence of the Decalog of Principles (as observed by the socialist countries, it is primary in relation to the whole document and also equal to its other parts) as well as the extent and time-table of the so-called measures to stimulate trust.

Commission II (economic matters) caused the fewest problems, because in this area a tradition of multilateral negotiations (GATT, ECE) already existed. Hence, not much was said about Basket Two--and unfairly so. In fact it was one of the most interesting and innovative achievements of the conference. Most of the policy principles are known in the concise form of existing international law. Individual sectors of cultural exchanges and exchanges of people were expressed in terms of treaties and institutions dating back

to the close of the last century. In economics, however, it was different; such areas as trade and tariffs (GATT) and especially the world money market were subordinate to multilateral regulations, and in both cases only with the partial participation of the socialist countries. Meanwhile, exchanges and economic cooperation between the East and West--and this is the real concern of Basket Two--found themselves in a paradoxical situation. New forms, especially of the cooperative type, which at the very best were expressed in agreements among governments, developed rapidly, but there was a lack of any kind of systematization and multilateral formulation. A code of standard procedures in economic relationships among industrial countries having different political systems was actually developed for the first time in Geneva. A footbridge to span the differences between the centrally managed economies in the socialist countries and capitalist decentralization was established. These differences always caused problems and discords. An agreement was concluded concerning principles of industrial cooperation, and thus on the most dynamic and futuristic forms of trade. A formula for mixed enterprises, the lack of which was the Achilles' heel of economic cooperation between East and West, had been agreed to.

The contents of Basket Three were the principal reason for the slow work tempo. Fundamental differences in the concept of three complex problems occurred:

In relation to the primary goals of cultural exchanges and exchanges of people. The socialist countries emphasized establishing principles and directives in accordance with the spirit of peaceful coexistence, but the capitalist countries demanded the acceptance of particular agreements the aim of which was a practically uncontrolled flow of people and information. This resulted in long-term disputes regarding order of meetings and contents of agreements. The concern was whether or not the priority should be a preamble specifying intention (the socialist countries) or whether the preamble should contain operational resolutions (the "Nine", EEC);

In relation to the role of the state. The socialist countries perceive the state as a regulator as well as promoter of cultural exchanges in accordance with the principle of sovereignty as well as effecting, in our political system, the function of a patron by the state. On the other hand, the West wanted to limit to a minimum the authority of governments in supervising the flow of ideas and individuals;

In relation to the principles of equality and reciprocity in cultural exchanges, which the socialist and some neutral countries emphasized very strongly. While the Western "cultural powers" merely postulated legal facilitation to make their ideas more easily accessible in foreign countries, these countries took the position that the so-called "practical approach", as determined primarily by a country's cultural policy (popularization of foreign languages, translations, meetings and the like), is of basic significance.



In evaluating the Commission III debates as a whole, one should remember that from the very beginning the West advanced the following stereotype: There is a need to fight for freedom of contacts between people against which the socialist countries are supposedly battling; therefore, the conference results must be measured by their concessions. The coin of exchange was supposed to be the Decalog of Principles, but in reality the number of Western projects greatly exceeded socialist submissions. However, it was obvious that they divided it into two categories: the propaganda category--written off in advance as a loss (for example, the dissemination of publications and the flow of people without any state control)--and those proposals which advanced to actual negotiations. Among the latter, incidentally, not even one of the more significant postulates would be a confirmation of practices conducted in Poland for a long time in the area of exchanges of people, and cultural, educational and information exchanges. All in all, the real battle was not over concrete forms and conditions of exchanges, although, of course, there were differences of opinions resulting from different traditions and legal regulations. The real stake was ideological principles. And it was actually in this area that the socialist side took the offensive and was crowned with success, which can be formulated in five points:

--Subordinating the flow of information and ideas to the primary principle of peaceful coexistence;

--inducing the West to withdraw all formulations which are directly or indirectly aimed at socialism;

--recognizing the socialist system and the promotional role of the state in the creation of culture;

--disallowing the free flow of worthless modern mass culture; and

--accepting the principle of reciprocity, which is of practical significance to us because of the surviving disproportions in the exchange of cultural works.

After The Final Act was ratified, the differences that arose in Geneva came to the fore again in the form of battles over the interpretation of The Final Act. They also surfaced in determining specific directions for political and ideological activities.

The divergences in the manifesto occurred relative to most of the policy principles contained in the first section of The Final Act. The West attempted to interpret Principle I (sovereign equality) in such a way that it would serve as an instrument to weaken the cohesion of the socialist system. In this spirit, some of the formulations of the past between the USSR and the GDR were attacked. Principle II (the nonuse of force) is recognized, especially in the FRG, as primary over other principles--specifically the inviolability of borders principle--even though, at the same time, no one

in the West supported the Soviet initiative to conclude a global agreement to refrain from the use of force. On the question of the inviolability of borders (Principle III), the FRG continued to advocate differentiation between this concept (supposedly limited to changing borders by force) and the unalterability of borders. In association with this, the mentioned clause concerning the possibility of peaceful modification of borders was recalled. Also, Principle IV (territorial integrity) was ambiguously presented by the FRG vis-a-vis relations with the GDR. An attempt was made to limit Principle VI (nonintervention in internal affairs) by a human-rights campaign (included in Principle VII), which the Carter Administration, in turn, acknowledged as primary.

In the second section, concerning economic matters, there were no interpretive disputes. But the divergent interests of the two sides showed up strongly, especially the interests of the socialist countries to conclude, above all, cooperative agreements, ascribing to them an appropriate status and legal formulation in order that we may progress from bilateral to multilateral projects (the Soviet proposal for an all-European agreement in the area of transport, energy and environmental protection) and based on the resolutions of Basket Two in order to promote cooperation between CEMA and the EEC. More or less, the West rejected all of these forms. These differences have become more acute because of the current economic situation in the West.

The differences were greatest concerning the aims and directions for implementation of the so-called third "Basket." We can only discuss them briefly:

Contacts between people: The West supports direct contacts, let us call them private contacts; we support specialized, organized and institutional contacts. Concerning foreign travel, the West emphasizes easing exit restrictions, and we emphasize easing entrance restrictions.

In the area of information: The West supports the concept of uncontrolled information; our side emphasizes the responsibility of governments for the content and political trend of information;

In the area of culture: The West also aims for uncontrolled exchanges of art and literature; on the other hand, the socialist countries emphasize the need to popularize outstanding art;

We postulate the equivalence of cultural exchanges while the West supports exchanges based only on commercial considerations;

In the area of education: The socialist countries, above all Poland, emphasize the verification of textbooks, which the West basically does not support.

These differences in interpretation, no doubt, will be reflected in Belgrade, regardless of the general difference in the approach to the functioning of the Belgrade meeting. As we know, more or less the West wants to use it very much to examine the socialist countries vis-a-vis the theoretical execution of all resolutions, especially Principle VII and the third "Basket." We, on the other hand, accentuate the need to give some thought to the situation taking into consideration the two years of experience and ways of improving methods of realizing the CSCE and new initiatives.

Compared with Europe's past fortunes, the present situation both simplifies and limits the concept of European solidarity. It simplifies it because two variants of international relations, common throughout the history of Europe, no longer exist, namely: anarchistic, individualistic disputes among all members of the European family of nations, conducted within changing constellations of temporary alliances; and the striving of one of its superpowers for hegemony and, consequently, the absorption of other nations, which, as a continent of self-dependent nation-states, is incompatible with the very essence of Europe. Obviously, it is easier to achieve an understanding concerning cooperation among nations that harmonize their policies within the frameworks of two systems of alliances rather than a system consisting of several dozen subjects operating independently and only for their own benefit. It is also obvious that, in these circumstances, hegemony by one power is not possible. On the other hand, however, the ideal of European unity takes on a different meaning. In previous centuries, such an ideal--though never realized--was tantamount to unity of understanding in the fullest sense: unity of faith, leaders and nation. This ideal changed with the rise of nation-states (if we overlook Napoleon's ambitions and Hitler's insanity). Nonetheless, political, socioeconomic and outlook-on-life homogeneity was maintained. There was a Christian Europe, a Europe of monarchies (the Holy Alliance), then bourgeois democracy (League of Nations), a Europe at the decline of feudalism followed by the various developmental stages of capitalism. This homogeneity, till now always considered as the base for the dream of a unified Europe, no longer exists. It has been replaced by a dualism in all planes: outlook-on-life (Christianity, Marxism), political (Western democracy, socialist democracy), and socioeconomic (capitalism, socialism).

People committed to socialism claim that someday their system will spread all over the world, and then one can speak of a homogeneous base for European unity. However, now, and for the foreseeable future, this homogeneity is lacking. That is why today the concept of unity takes on a more modest but also a very realistic tone. It is a synonym for the peaceful coexistence of all the nations of Europe, living under two different political systems and driving forward using different rationales in the pursuit of different goals, although not necessarily conflicting ones.

POLAND

CHIEF MILITARY PROSECUTOR INTERVIEWED ON AMNESTY

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jul 77 pp 1-2

[Interview with Col Jozef Szewczyk, deputy prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic and chief military prosecutor by editors of Zolnierz Wolnosci: "The Educational Aspects of Amnesty"]

[Text] From news items in the press, on the radio and on the television, the public is aware that on the eve of the Holiday of Revival of Poland the leadership of the party and the state made an important decision in the matter of amnesty. This decision evoked general interest among the public and in the military circles.

Not all our readers are equally knowledgeable of the details of this matter. The editors of the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI addressed a few questions to Col Jozef Szewczyk, deputy prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic and chief military prosecutor, who commented on several interesting problems related to this important legal act.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: What sociopolitical purposes are behind the amnesty decision?

Col Szewczyk: In our system, every act of amnesty is a magnanimous humanitarian act and a proof of the growing strength of the state. Our state and the whole nation successfully realize the sociopolitical and economic development plans laid out at the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses. Behind us, we have several significant successes in the political and economic fields. Those successes are accompanied by profound social changes which are manifested in the fields protected by the law by, inter alia, the continuing growth of social discipline and the strengthening of public tranquility, safety and order.

The visible symptom of these positive changes is a steady decrease of the threat of criminal activities and an increase of society's legal culture and consciousness.

With these positive phenomena in the background and in connection with the anniversary of our people's state, the party and the state leadership concluded that it was possible to issue a legal act which, by showing forgiveness, would permit those, who accidentally and for the first time got entangled in a conflict with the law, to be socially rehabilitated and to return to normal life.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: It is generally known that the positive changes on the national scale are accompanied by favorable phenomena in the armed forces. Which of those, in your opinion, Comrade Colonel, deserve special emphasis from the point of view of the military prosecutor?

Col Szewczyk: The steady strengthening of conformance to the law, of discipline and of the prescribed military order and obedience and, through those, the improvement of combat readiness of our army. We observe an increase of the level of consciousness of the law and of legal culture among the cadres and the soldiers. The number of military offenders is decreasing steadily. We are proud of the success of several preventive educational measures.

The source of these positive changes is the systematic, planned and persistent work of military commanders and of the party political organization in the Army. Also, to a certain extent, these changes are the result of the preventive activities conducted by the organs of military prosecutors and justice administration in close cooperation with the command hierarchy and the political leadership of the army.

Of course, this does not mean that criminal activities and the accompanying unfavorable phenomena can be treated lightly. Although they constitute only a thin margin against the background of the above-mentioned, positive and permanent values, nevertheless, because they are so foreign to the essence of socialist principles of communal life, they are especially repulsive and are combatted with all legal means of counteraction. We want to use the amnesty act as one of the important instruments in the educational activities for the soldiers.

I wish to emphasize very strongly that the amnesty decree of the Council of State must not be interpreted under any circumstances as an expression of tolerance of criminal offenders and especially as a sign of change in the longstanding and unquestionable right policy of prosecuting the offenders.

The amnesty is a humanitarian act creating an opportunity of speedy return to normal life for persons who are not basically demoralized but who got into conflict with the law.

The organs of military justice have consistently prosecuted and are determined to continue to presecute consistently the perpetrators of offenses which are dangerous to state security, which threaten the basis of discipline and combat readiness of the Army, which grossly break the rules of public order and which are against public property and the safety of citizens and their belongings.

At the same time, we approach with all due consideration the cases which, not being as great a danger to the society, can be handled by the command, honor code or disciplinary actions, especially when the soldier collectives, youth organizations and other social organizations active in the Army participate actively in the process of reeducation of the offender.

These elements of our prosecutorial policy are also reflected in the amnesty decree.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: How are these two aspects expressed?

Col Szewczyk: First of all, the decree of the Council of State grants the benefits of amnesty to the wide range of offenders who committed lesser crimes, to the persons who, generally, are not demoralized and who appear to offer the prospects of blameless behavior in the future.

In legal terms, it means that the criminal prosecution is dropped against all who committed an act for which the penalty prescribed by the penal code does not exceed two years of deprivation of liberty. And the decree forgives the punishment for those who committed an offense for which the maximum penalty is more severe but who were sentenced by the court to serve less than one year, that is received a rather lenient sentence.

On the other hand, the possibility of amnesty is excluded for the perpetrators of offenses which are specially dangerous to the society and threatening the legal order. These are primarily the crimes against the security of the state; murders; serious economic, custom and currency offenses; bribery; rape and robbery.

The matters discussed here are characterized by the fact that the benefits of amnesty cannot profit the repeaters and the perpetrators of acts of mindless destruction. At the same time, there are provisions that persons covered by the amnesty who abuse the confidence placed in them and return to the criminal ways within 3 years will have to serve the sentence forgiven by the amnesty in addition to the punishment received for the new offense.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Does the amnesty decree contain any special provisions regarding soldiers?

Col Szewczyk: Yes. In the military we have at our disposal a special kind of judicial punishment, namely the military stockade. This punishment is used mainly for the perpetrators of military offenses who are not repeaters and do not appear to be deeply demoralized. The act of amnesty, considering these criteria, forgives total punishment to all sentenced to stockade. This way, a definite number of young men obtained an opportunity to return immediately to normal life, work and duty.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Could you, Comrade Colonel, tell us in more detail to what extent the amnesty applies to those who committed offenses but are not yet known to the prosecutorial organs?

Col Szewczyk: The decree states that in case of offenses committed prior to 15 July 1977, the perpetrators of which are not known to the prosecutorial organs on the day when this legal act becomes effective, the amnesty may be applied if the perpetrators report voluntarily to the prosecutorial organs before 15 July 1978 and disclose all the material circumstances and persons who cooperated with them in the commission of crime.

It should be especially emphasized that reporting voluntarily gives a great opportunity to the offenders. It is so because, in their case, the amnesty applies even if they committed one of the offenses cited by me before as generally excluded from the amnesty. The act of voluntary surrender to prosecutorial organs is valued to such an extent that it produces far-reaching leniency and, in certain instances, even forgiveness of punishment for the perpetrators of crimes of espionage and, in relation to military crimes, for the soldiers who deserted.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: You have mentioned, Comrade Colonel, that the amnesty will be used as one of the important arguments in the preventive educational activities. May we ask for a few words on this subject?

Col Szewczyk: Generally speaking, we consider the act of amnesty, in accordance with our socialist ideals, to be an expression of faith in human nature and in the possibility of reeducating men. In this sense, we see a widespread educational impact of this important legal act. We are convinced that it will be understood in that way by the whole society and it will contribute to the development of worthy citizen attitudes, proper approach to the law and to the decisions of the state. This act will encourage the growth of society's political activities.

We have taken measures to assure that each case of amnesty be used by the commanders and the party political organization in their educational efforts with the soldiers. Especially, we want to dispel any doubt that the amnesty is not a gesture of tolerance of the offenders but that it is an act of grace by the state authorities who expect those who broke the law to return quickly to honest work for the good of the armed forces and our socialist fatherland.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Thank you for the interesting statement, Comrade Colonel.

8801

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POLAND

POLISH LEADERS GREET ROMANIAN LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Bucharest:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of Romania's liberation, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council and the government of the Polish People's Republic, and the Polish people, we send to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to the fraternal Romanian people, our warm friendly greetings and best wishes.

On the 33rd anniversary of liberation, which was a result of the Soviet Army's victory over Hitlerite fascism, the Romanian people, led by their Communist Party and united by bonds of friendship and cooperation with the other states of the socialist community and with the progressive forces throughout the world, are proudly summing up their achievements.

We are pleased with the Romanian people's achievements in implementing the program for constructing a developed socialist society as mapped out by the 11th RCP Congress.

The traditional friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and peoples are developing favorable. We are convinced that the Polish-Romanian relations, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will continue to develop in the interests of our two peoples, the community of the socialist states, and the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

On this solemn day, we extend to the Romanian people our wishes for further successes in all areas of life, and to you, dear comrades, wishes for new achievements in your responsible work in further developing the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2600



POLAND

GIEREK SPEAKS AT WARSAW RECEPTION FOR SHAH OF IRAN

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Speech by PZPR First Secretary Edward Gierek at the 22 August Warsaw reception in honor of the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran]

[Text] I would like to cordially welcome on Polish soil his imperial majesty the Shahanshah of Iran Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr and her imperial majesty the Shahbanu of Iran Farah Pahlavi and their honorable entourage.

We regard this visit as yet another expression of the close and long-standing Polish-Iranian relations. Our nations have for centuries been linked by feelings of friendship and mutual respect. Diplomatic relations between our states are over 500 years old, and our political, economic and, especially, cultural contacts go back even further than that. The Polish people have always paid exceptional tribute to the artistic skills of the Persian artists and artisans, to the riches and beauty of Persian literature, dancing, and music, and to the achievements of Persian science. Ancient Persian culture has left an important imprint on Polish customs and culture to this day. Profound humanist values, a noble love for the motherland, a sense of great dignity, loyalty, and courage--these are your people's qualities which have forever been recorded in the Polish people's historical consciousness.

This means that you are guests of a nation which knows and understands your nation, and which highly values the contribution made by your nation to mankind's treasurehouse of civilization and culture in the past 2,500 years or more.

You are being hosted by a nation which will always remember the proofs of friendship and affection on the part of your country during the difficult periods of our history.

Your imperial majesties, dear guests, we pay a profound tribute to the great efforts and ambitious plans of your imperial majesty, the government, and the people of Iran concerning Iran's modern development. Iran, which last year celebrated the 50th anniversary of the state's renewal, is now a country with

an extensive economic potential, a country which is progressing rapidly in all areas, is boldly seeking new achievements, is developing industry, agriculture, education, culture, and health services, and is raising the living standards of its people. This is possible through the utilization of natural riches and man's skills in keeping with the interests of the nation. At the same time, following a peaceful policy and developing cooperation with all states irrespective of political differences, Iran is winning authority and affection throughout the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Polish people, who took the road to socialism after World War II, are able to speak highly of their own achievements. Our country has risen from ruins and destruction, and has increased its economic, scientific, and cultural potential many times over. Its previous high rate of development has increased even further in the seventies. We have greatly expanded and modernized our industry, we are modernizing our agriculture, and we have achieved a crucial breakthrough in improving our living standards. We have promoted social benefits on a large scale, we have increased the scope of our housing construction, and we have made great progress in health welfare. We have carried out and are carrying out many important reforms in the structure of the state, in the economy, education, and in every area of community life. We will persist in these efforts consistently, and will perseveringly seek to reach our appointed target of guaranteeing the country's rapid development, and of increasing many times over our people's material and spiritual assets.

We attach great importance to cooperation with other countries, strengthening our relations with our closest allies and friends--the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. We are striving to expand economic, scientific-technical, and cultural exchanges and contacts with the states with different systems, if they desire this, and to do this on the basis of equal rights, mutual good-will, and mutual benefits. We take the view that this is the principal way of consolidating the process of detente, of building understanding and trust among nations, and of strengthening peace in the world.

We have taken and continue to take various initiatives to eliminate the sources of conflicts and tensions, and to build bridges of friendship and cooperation in international relations. We are consistently seeking the complete and comprehensive implementation of the decisions of the CSCE final act. We regard this as indispensable for the shaping of lasting peace and constructive cooperation on our continent, and for progress of the detente process throughout the world.

We pay due attention to the movement of the nonaligned states, which is playing a great role in international politics. We actively support this movement's activities for peace, and for basing cooperation among states on new, just principles, particularly in the area of economic relations.

Poland has followed and will always follow an active policy aimed at building lasting peace, and is ready to cooperate with every state and to take any initiative to promote that great goal.

Your imperial majesties, all that I have said proves that there exist many areas in which Poland and Iran can expand their cooperation. Our mutual relations, which are based on old and fine traditions, are developing favorably. With the help of our good experience to date, and in accordance with our two countries' dynamic development which has created new needs and new possibilities, we wish to give a greater boost to this cooperation, and to provide more sweeping prospects for it. I am convinced that your imperial majesties share this wish.

In the past several years, a new chapter has been opened in the relations between our states, a chapter which is a record of extensive contacts in many areas and of many successful ventures. We know that your imperial majesty's initiatives have played a great role in this connection. These initiatives can be traced to your affection for Poland, and to your conviction that cooperation will benefit our two peoples. We value this very highly. Esteemed guests, allow me to recall that the official visit of his imperial majesty the Shahanshah of Iran in Poland in 1966 was of great significance for our cooperation, was an important event in our rapprochement, and an incentive to stimulate our contacts.

As for me, it is with pleasure that I recall my brief visit to your beautiful country last January, and the talks I had then with your imperial majesty. I am still under the impression of the great friendliness and affection accorded to me, my wife, and the Polish delegation.

Your imperial majesties' present official visit of friendship to Poland is an event of great importance in relations between our countries. I am deeply convinced that it will help further develop these relations, and will enrich Poland's and Iran's contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and deepening international detente.

CSO: 2600

# POLITICAL VIEWS OF MARTIN LUTHER EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian May 77 pp 901-911

[Article by Florentina Cazan: "Political Views of the German Reformer Martin Luther"]

[Text] Martin Luther is especially known for his religious reforms designed to ensure the promotion of the mentality of the new class--the bourgeoisie--and the economic forms related to it. The proponents of Protestantism wanted to see in this reform the perfection of the spirit and the establishment of the dominance of spiritualism and the world of ideas in history.<sup>1</sup> They committed the grave error of not seeing that the production of ideas, and also the production of the spirit, the moral, religious and political language, is nothing more than the representation of the material behavior of people<sup>2</sup> and the bringing of ideas into the world in accordance with the intellectual level of development and the surrounding realities.

Thus, Protestantism is nothing more than an ideological expression of a new society, still having a predominantly religious thought, and of a world on the threshold of moving from feudalism to capitalism. Like any ideology, it cannot exist on the edge of the sphere of morality, but it must include a multitude of aspects. Among these, political aspects occupy an important place, especially since the reform was opposed to and tried to combat the old feudal ideology--the Catholic religion, which, in medieval politics, had maintained a predominant place, with the papacy continuing to enjoy influence in the Catholic states.

In the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church was present in two forms: as an institution and as an ideology, with both being a part of the feudal social order. This is why Martin Luther, just as John Wycliffe and Jan Hus, who attacked the church, had to begin, against their own wishes, not only a social struggle, but also a political one.<sup>3</sup> Martin Luther was not only an innovator of morals, but, as a humanist alongside other German humanists, he was a political thinker looking for the answer for the great political problems of his times. A great influence upon the German reformer was exercised by his collaborators: Andreas Karlstadt, Johannes Eberlin von Gunzburg, Martin Butzer and Philipp Melancthon, who were themselves theoreticians of note.

From historical sources, it is clear that both prior to the Reform and during its era, it was understood to mean more or less radical transformations in both the social realm and the political realm, but by no means especially transformations in the religious domain.<sup>4</sup> The internal crisis in Germany and the social contradictions made felt the need for a new political order, a need expressed in the words "reformatz teutscher nation."<sup>5</sup> These were words of a progressive nature that pushed Germany towards revolution.<sup>6</sup> The affirmation of the centralization of the states in western Europe and the appearance of capitalism and the bourgeoisie had clearly resulted in the birth of a national spirit.

Although the national current was born in northern Germany independently of the Reform, the two events existed together for such a long time and complemented one another so that they cannot be separated.<sup>7</sup> For Luther, nationalism was the common people's support for his reforms without which the German reformer would have certainly met the fate of J. Hus, once again proof that the force of the German reform stemmed from the new sociopolitical conditions that had been created in Central Europe during the course of the century that had passed between Hus and Luther.<sup>8</sup> The national current in Germany in the 16th century was represented by the princes who were hoping to use this current for their own purposes, which is why the Reform was aimed towards them.<sup>9</sup> Just as in the general, social and political conditions of those times the results of any changes had to necessarily be useful for the princes, increasing their power, so it was that the Reform was destined to fall under their control<sup>9bis</sup>. In order to attack the entire institutional apparatus of the church in Rome, having a world-wide structure, the great reformer helped the national idea of struggle, to which he gave a theological basis and a program in three of his works.<sup>10</sup> He did this while he was translating the Bible, which appeared in its first edition with 600 copies, contributed to the unification of the German language and laid the basis for a German literary language. The promotion of particularism led to the negation of that which had existed throughout the Middle Ages, "Corpus Christianum," a political and religious grouping governed with total self-styled apostolic authority by the pope, who had thus made the church in Rome the international center of western feudal<sup>11</sup> world.

In the western Middle Ages, the attempt to restore the sole empire of Roman origin, through the intermediary Christian churches, was not merely "a crowned phantom seated upon the tomb of Saint Peter,"<sup>12</sup> but a political reality that the Catholic states were required to keep in mind. But, the project for obtaining the unity of all the Christian states under the auspices of the papacy, with all its grandiose character, had frustrated in the preceding centuries by political forces that leaned towards a division of power.<sup>13</sup> The appearance of the Reform marked a decisive defeat of the papacy and, in this way, attempted to more precisely delineate, more than had been done until then, the religious sphere from that of the laity.

The Lutheran Doctrine distinguished between the spiritual world and the material world. This was an important step towards the secular concept of the notion of the state, although Luther did not go to the point of completely

separating them. The two orders (Reich Gottes und Reich Der Welt) saw them united in the future in the same divine will.<sup>14</sup> It is important, however, that the universal power of the papacy and, at the same time, the German Empire of the universal structure were subjected to severe criticisms.

In Luther's sermons, the notion of "christianitas" had a strictly religious meaning (the blessed people) and for that reason he rejected the term "respublica christiana," as well as "Ecclesia romana" or simply "ecclesia" given to the Christian people by the papacy and which appears to be lacking any type of meaning. In its translation, "Ecclesia romana" presupposes a community organized and led by Rome. For that reason, "ecclesia romana," in the best instance, cannot be anything but a Roman community, the Roman people, which, according to Luther, had no connection at all with the Christian religion. If "ecclesia" is translated as people, then the Turks were also "ecclesia"<sup>15</sup> and the Ottoman Empire was like any other possession. For the former priest from Wittenberg, the church, in the religious sense, formed the spiritual Christianity while the visible church was a purely human institution and therefore susceptible to taking on different meanings. For that reason, an ecclesiastical group, whatever it might be, could not be identified with the mystical presence of Christ.<sup>16</sup> If Luther did not recognize Christianity as a political organism ("respublica, ecclesia"), it was natural to also deny the leader surrounded by the apostolic halo. In his fury, the pope represented Luther as the opposite of what he pretended to be and considered him the embodiment of the devil's power.<sup>17</sup> This was not a reaction springing from an aversion for the chief of the Catholic Church. It was the negation of a principle of the leader of the universal structure of the church. Neither did he want himself to be all-powerful over all the followers of the Reform in Europe and was satisfied with the title of prophet of Germany,<sup>18</sup> which was truly not at all modest.

The need to ensure the triumph of the Reformation which, thus, opposed a political grouping of all believers made it necessary to also direct the attack against the other end of the universal power--the empire. Moreover, Martin Luther was not afraid to urge his compatriots to be insubordinate, if he asked them to fight in defense of traditional religion in a time when the crusades had become a problem on the daily agenda. "The main reason, in such a case, why you do not have to submit to the emperor and go to war is that you and the emperor, through your baptism, swore to respect Christ's gospel and not to fight against it and oppress it."<sup>19</sup> The justification given was a religious one--the Catholics did not respect the gospel--but what was counted was the consequences, the right to resist a supreme authority suspected of cooperating with the Pope: "Since you found out that, in this case, the emperor will be cheated and seduced by the Pope."<sup>20</sup> After Luther, an element of major importance for Germany during the years 1529-1530, was the establishment of a national church, liberated from the political dominance of Rome, which was to impose new standards for life corresponding to the social and political transformations of the times through new interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Condemning the civil wars which resulted from the religious dissolution of Germany, Luther accused the emperor of

being the moral author of the wars and made him responsible for what had happened. "What else can this mean but that the beloved emperor and the beloved Germans are carrying on the wars, their blood is flowing, sacrificing their well-being, their existence and their women and children in order to maintain our life and our shameful and diabolical existence in the face of the truth which we wish to know in its entirety."<sup>21</sup> Thus, the ruler who does ensure domestic order, but, on the contrary, who allows or provokes disorder, does not deserve to be listened to. Convinced that the Reformation responded to the social and political demands of Germany, Martin Luther did not hesitate to state in 1529, when the Turks were advancing towards Vienna, that the first step was a war against the emperor if he did not cease his pursuit of the reformers, moving as need be until he was dethroned.<sup>22</sup> At the basis of his definition of the attributes of state authority, the professor from Wittenberg placed the concept of freedom of conscience.<sup>23</sup> No one by virtue of any right could exercise religious constraints. The essential condition for temporal powers to be respected was to leave to the individual the freedom to choose his belief. "It is true madness to order someone to submit to the Catholic Church...and it is even a greater lack of good sense to force the people to conform to the belief of the king or the prince."<sup>24</sup> For the German reformer, there were no people ordained by God to rule the world. The emperor was not exempted from making mistakes and the policies of Carol V were discussed and publically disapproved by Luther. He declared: "I, Doctor Luther, am more educated than the emperor and more knowledgeable (more experienced) in the problems of everyday life."<sup>25</sup> These words, full of daring, suddenly came down upon the emperor from the heights of the political pyramid from which, in his capacity of God's representative, crowned by Rome, he pretended to rule the world.

The idea that there do not exist persons empowered by a divine will to rule the world, in other words, the denial of the principle of divine grace in leadership that had prevailed throughout the entire Middle Ages, but that there did exist an "art" of governing which those who were called upon could learn, became even more powerful in Germany in the 16th century.<sup>26</sup> The Reformation had done nothing more than transpose on a religious level the humanist ideal of the emancipation of the individual, giving this ideal the religious support that it needed. The people no longer tolerated tyranny, even if it came from the church, disguised in religious forms. According to these new concepts, each individual has the necessary power to rise to perfection and, as a result, people are in a position to forge the fate by themselves. In his teachings, according to which all Christians are "geistlichen Standes" and only they can know what is good and what is bad,<sup>27</sup> we glimpse the timidly expressed idea of the sovereignty of the people. The former Augustine priest wanted a new government corresponding to the demands of the time and a modern state and demanded the end of medieval political arbitration and methods of religious constraint, such as excommunication, which found their broad application in the political domain. In his concept of state leadership, leadership must be entrusted to those people who have been trained for that purpose. In a sermon from 1530, he wrote that those persons born kings, princes, nobles and rulers do not

have the right to rule alone and he insisted that their children be sent to school receive an education corresponding to the demands of the times. The princes also had a need for lawyers, chancellors and secretaries.<sup>28</sup>

With regards to the spiritual temporal relationship, he asked that the rulers adopt a position of absolute neutrality in affairs of religion.<sup>29</sup> In the work, "Von weltlicher Obrykeit wie weit man ihr gehsan schuldig sei"<sup>30</sup> state authority is conceived especially as a police and repressive instrument against wrong-doers. Lutheran teachings do not admit the concept of the free judge. Divine law must be respected and those who do not submit to good will, as religious constraints do not allow, will be subjected to "human law."

At that time, however, Luther's concepts appeared daringly scandalous to many people. Erasmus in Rotterdam complained to Georg de Saxa that Luther was breaking the unity of the Catholic world,<sup>31</sup> a unity in which the great humanist still believed even though it practically never existed and therefore the accusation was unfounded. The letter was accompanied by Erasmus' work "De libero arbitrio" in which, for the first time, he openly came out against the initiator of the Reformation<sup>31bis</sup>. For his part, Georg de Saxa placed the blame on the German preacher, trying to intimidate him: "You have raised yourself by insulting the emperor...You have made Wittenberg into an asylum for disowned priests and nuns" and, further, he stated that Germany has no need for his teachings.<sup>32</sup> Luther tried to justify his position to Erasmus, but the response sounded harsh: "When Erasmus writes against you, he uses the Gospel perhaps more than those stupid pieces that are written in your favor."<sup>33</sup> Although surrounded, Luther still had the courage to write "De servo arbitrio," a work in which he denounces the humanists he had sided with until then, but who no longer understood him.

With all their merits, the political thought of the German preacher has its limits, class limits and conceptual limits. When he attacked the political privileges of the nobility, he pushed the bourgeoisie onto the political scene and, from an ideological point of view, the purpose was to replace one religion with another; Protestantism was to obtain the advantages held at another time by the Catholic Church. Thus, Luther's conviction was that the preachers (the prophets) should be part of the new apparatus of state leadership. From this point stemmed the idea of some national churches working in the service of the princes as supported in the sermon noted from 1530.

The need to enable his religion to affirm itself led the German reformer to the position adopted with regards to the Ottoman problem. The religious controversy between the Catholics and the Lutherans made the Ottoman danger a factor to be used as a weapon with which each party felt it could hit its adversary. While the papacy believed that the threat to Europe by a people of another belief and the need to resist any advances would create a political and spiritual unity in Europe under the leadership of Rome, thus keeping away from a religious reform, M. Luther tried to use the Turks as an argument with which to bring out the errors of Catholic doctrine and papal supremacy,



the sources, as Luther maintained, of all the evils of society and the crimes committed for which the people had to pay by suffering under a foreign rule.<sup>34</sup> In order to criticize the society in which he lived, he opposed the society of the Turks which recognized the virtues of modesty, simplicity and honor.<sup>35</sup> Upon the "sinful Catholics," he threw his curse<sup>36</sup> and added that "in comparison with the Catholics, you can loudly acclaim the Turks as holymen and they (the Catholics) as true devils...this is an indication that among the Christians there are few true believers and many worse than the Turks."<sup>37</sup> The result was, therefore, that the Turks were used as a means of comparison since all of Europe had become used to regarding the Turks with dislike and horror. But, however things were presented, a new picture was presented to the world regarding the Ottoman society. Religious tolerance in the Ottoman Empire<sup>38</sup> especially held Luther's attention, considering it an example worthy of being followed by a western Europe that had never known a similar tolerance. For these reasons, the Turks' successes did not scare Luther very much.<sup>39</sup>

The desire to combat the Catholic religion in all its aspects led to the denunciation of the crusades,<sup>40</sup> assimilated by the papacy with indulgences, a form of the numerous exterior practices invented by the Roman church for "the salvation of the soul" and which the Lutheran thesis of "salvation through belief" rejected. Luther unveiled the falsity of the religious propaganda surrounding the wars with the Turks. Even in 1518, he had pointed out that the war with the Turks could not be substantiated ideologically with the help of the Bible.<sup>41</sup> Its bourgeois spirit made him revolt at the thought that out of the war against the Turks the Roman Church would find a new source of income. "The so shameful Pope deceived us during all this time regarding the war against the Turks, he took our money, he ruined so many Christians and he did so much evil."<sup>42</sup> All of this brought to Luther the accusation that he was opposed to the war with the Turks at a time when the enemy had arrived at the walls of Vienna (1529). The blame placed on him lacked any theme. Personally, Luther was never for an understanding with the Turks and he stated this flatly as early as 1521 in the writings that we mentioned above. He did this so as not to be incorrectly understood and not to be accused of being indifferent regarding the danger that was spreading over all of Europe, including Germany. "Now I can show this article, not with the intention of saying that we should not fight the Turks."<sup>43</sup> He condemned the war with the Turks merely as an action of the Catholic Church. It is true that, beginning with the diet in Speyer in 1529, the Protestants exploited the Ottoman danger and the impasse in which the Habsburgs found themselves in order to arrest the Catholic opposition of the Reformation, conditioning their participation in the fighting upon the granting of certain important religious privileges. But, Luther did not want and never attempted an approach towards the Turks. A coordinated action, a cooperation, of the type that Carol V and Ferdinand feared would limit the Habsburgs to a war on two fronts, one in the empire and the other in Hungary, never existed<sup>44</sup> and we feel that it is way too much to state that the Turks helped the Reformation to such a degree that "without them without a doubt Protestantism would have met the fate of the Albigens."<sup>45</sup> The heresy of

the Albigen represented the ideology of a social group with still limited powers, timid in its forms of expression, while Protestantism represented the ideology of a fully developed class which brought along with itself changes in the entire structure of society. Its power was based in the force of the class whose interests it served.

The attitude adopted by Luther in the Ottoman problem does not have to be reduced to a simple question of survival for the new religion. Luther's efforts to build a more rational religion conform to the spirit of the times and obliged him to reject the religious nature of the wars and the idea of "holy wars." He believed, and at that time many felt the same way, that the war of defending Germany was an affair to be handled by the state and not the church, by the princes and the emperor and not the Pope. The church could merely help the war with the Turks, which was something else altogether.<sup>46</sup> The problem of defending the state preoccupied the great scholar. It sprang forth from the national spirit to which he adhered. Because of this, his political views saw measures in this light. He demanded that the armies not be placed in the service of the church and the belief, not even apparently, and that the participants not be designated according to their religion. In battle, they should not go forward as Christians "but as citizens (burger) or as soldiers hired and paid by the emperor or another high noble and to whom they would serve with their bodies and souls. And, they should not name an army an army of Christians or of Christianity nor should they have a battle of Christians. But, it should be an army or armies of the emperor."<sup>47</sup> The sign of the cross used as a symbol in battle, but which reminded Luther of the Catholic Church and the Pope (the Anti-Christ as Luther called him), caused Luther to protest using words like these: "If I were a soldier and on the battlefield I were to see a priest or a flag with the sign of the cross, even if it were a true crucifix, I would turn and run as if I was being pursued by the devil."<sup>48</sup> The question is: How many shared Luther's sentiments? If the papacy was so greatly compromised, it is not surprising that its call in the name of faith to form an anti-Ottoman coalition did not get much of a response. The flag for which the armies spill their blood, added Luther, should be one of a worldly ruler and the national army should be at the disposal of the prince in whose service they may be at any given moment.<sup>49</sup> In place of the feudal armies which, under the name of Christianity, took part in the glory of battle and which considered plundering as a part of the laws of war, Luther called for a disciplined army which "would not lay claim to booty, goods and honor, but would defend and protect the friends of the common people, women and children."<sup>50</sup>

According to the procedures of the time, Luther used religious arguments, taken from the Bible, to combat the old customs established by the Catholic Church, with this being the only justification carrying weight during those times, worthy of being believed, and forcing people to explain their own ideas with the help of divine will. A religious ideology cannot be attacked except by another religious ideology.<sup>51</sup> This fact does not have to lead us into mistakes. In the Ottoman problem, Luther recognized reality and understood the importance of the diplomatic game, even urging the Protestants

to make use of it in order to gain recognition of their religion from the emperor.<sup>52</sup> But, because he penetrated these secrets of politics in which religious enemies were granted forgiveness, the German reformer revealed the falsity of the religious propaganda surrounding the wars with the Turks, a falsity that was demonstrated by the negotiations between the sultan, the emperor and the Pope, which Luther considered as a shameful covenant on behalf of the two so-called leaders of the Christian world. In 1545, upon hearing of the understanding between Soliman the Magnificent and Carol V, Luther wrote: "If you did not know by now, there is one other thing: the Pope, the emperor, the Frank and Ferdinand expedited a shining mission, with precious gifts, in order to carry out peace negotiations with the Turk. The same people who, until not, defamed the Turk as the enemy of Christianity and who, under this pretext, extorted great sums of money and stirred up the entire land against him. Since, on the order of the Roman satan the land had been stripped by indulgences, armies and his skill in plundering."<sup>53</sup> The conclusion that he reached was that the papacy had no interest in completely destroying the Ottoman Empire and concluded expressing his hope that this defamation--as he called it--also meant the end of the empire in the sense of a universal rule tied to the Roman Church.

It is surprising how similar Luther's words are to what he think today regarding the risks of war and the good of peace; "Krieg rewinnet nicht verleuret aber vile unde waget alles. Aber sanftmut verleuret nichts, waget wenig unde gewynnet alles..."<sup>54</sup> Peace in the interior of Germany especially concerned him and his Reformation had added new reasons for feuding to the old ones. He offered to the princes an ideology that was in the position to support their political interests and, in exchange, he asked them to renounce the rivalries between them. Respect for internal order was Luther's political creed and he fought for it in the end. In 1528, having learned of the planned offensive league of the landbaron Filip de Hesa, who had also attracted the young duke Johan Friederich de Saxa, Luther, together with Melancton, wrote an epistle to the duke in which the two of them flatly came out against war in general, if it were not defensive in nature, and especially against the differences and fighting between the German princes.

Fear of anarchy urged Luther to send a letter to the rebel Michael Kohlhaas<sup>55</sup> in which he recommended to him "a Christian submission" towards the despotic actions that he had suffered under at the hands of his seniors and the feudal justice system, even though Luther was convinced that Kohlhaas had been a victim of judicial abuse, a frequent circumstance in his times. "To be the sole judge and to judge alone is not just...Since you ask, my advice (as you write me) is to guide you, accept peace when it is possible and it is better to suffer damage to your wealth and honor than to train further in such an action...Make peace honoring God and accept damages as coming from God..."<sup>56</sup> Fear of anarchy on one hand,<sup>57</sup> respect for authority on the other. For Luther, power was the expression of divine will and no one had the right to oppose it. He was a reformer and a revolutionary. He wanted a reform of the state and not a social revolution. But, on this point we slip into another area of political activity carried out by Martin Luther, that of the German Peasants War (1525). All the actions of the leader of the uprising, Thomas Muntzer,

were viewed with "the reserved disbelief of a moderate reformer faced with a more energetic and more radical party."<sup>58</sup> And, the peasants who had revolted were truly classified as "mad dogs" for whom no one should have pity and no one should conclude a covenant with them.<sup>59</sup> To the question to what degree did Luther determine or influence the ideology of the German Peasant War, numerous historians are inclined to answer that Muntzer was neither a disciple nor a continuer of Luther's ideology. Muntzer's ideology has its own roots which, clearly, does not mean that Luther did not play a decisive role in the life and struggle of Muntzer.<sup>60</sup> For Muntzer, Luther's doctrine was "a theology without people and against the people,"<sup>61</sup> a religion of passivity without the participation of the people in the forging of their own destiny.<sup>62</sup> The leadership and punishment of the crimes was left exclusively in the hands of the powerful ones. Luther's teachings regarding the passive role of the masses and about their political incapacity had as a direct consequence the submission to the princes rather than the authority of the laity. During the times of greatest tensions, when the peasants were threatening the nobles with destruction of class privileges, Luther recommended the Reformation to the princes since it "will help you to maintain your authority which is now being shaken."<sup>63</sup>

Luther, although he fought the ideology of feudal society--the Catholic religion, he defended the feudal system, justifying it, later on, with the help of religion, the Protestant religion. We meet contradictions not only in the thoughts of the German reformer, but in the majority of the humanists. On the political level, humanism has oscillated between the affirmation of certain new political principles and the preservation of old forms. This is explained by the fact that humanism, although it was a new doctrine and represented the creed of a new historical class, it sprang from dogmatic and scholastic thought that is thoroughly laced with the very notions against which it is fighting. So it is that in the same time frame and even in the same person we meet both ideas which belong to the medieval views of society and ideas proper of a new type of thought unleashed from the old prejudices.<sup>64</sup> Not believing in the possibility of a radical change in Germany, Martin Luther continued the idea of internal peace as the sole saving solution. From this, stems his position as a mediator between the two classes locked in conflict. For years, he addressed the peasants and the princes to bring about a reconciliation, understanding the fault of the nobles in unleashing the war,<sup>65</sup> not wishing or daring to confront them in open conflict. For the rebels, he had insults and alongside the princes he continued, using the influence that he had over them to stop internal wars.

It was natural that the concept of peace, a thoroughly humanist idea, also existed in Luther's views. To this great ideal, to which mankind still aspires, the author of the Reformation in Germany remained loyal until the end. Every time his authority and prestige allowed it, he made peace between two parties involved in a conflict, sparing nothing. His death was as surprising as a messenger of peace. In January 1546, during a stormy period and although sick, he went to Mansfeld to reconcile differences between Counts

Albert and Gebhard. It was a situation where no one could have intervened more effectively. The negotiations were carried out in February in Eisleben where the two counts signed an agreement, on 17 February, which put an end to the conflict.<sup>66</sup> On the morning of the next day, 18 February, the great German reformer died. His last act, which had brought him to the city of his birth, was devoted to the ideal for which he had fought, had worked, but not without being gnawed by doubts, and had found solutions whether they were appropriate or not.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Hegel, Stirner, Max: see K. Marx, F. Engels, "Ideologia germana" [German Ideology], Bucharest, 1956, p 181. The conclusion of the proponents of Protestantism is based upon the Lutheran thesis regarding the universal priesthood, the internationalization of religion and the renunciation of the numerous external practices imposed by the Catholic Church (religious ceremonies, the obligation to participate in the liturgy, penance, and so forth). For the universal priesthood, see J. Delumeanu, "Naissance et affirmation de la Reforme," Paris, 1965, p 64 and later, and A. Otetea, "Renastere si Reforma" [The Renaissance and the Reformation], Bucharest, 1968, p 268.
2. K. Marx, F. Engels, op. cit., pp 22, 183.
3. Leo Stern, "Martin Luther und Philip Melanchton ihre ideologische Herkunft und geschichtliche Leistung," [Martin Luther and Philip Melanchton, Their Ideological Origin and Historical Achievement], in "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der M. Luther Universitat," Halle, Wittenberg, 1952/53 Heft 6, p 32.
4. S.M. Stam, "Ce a fost in realitate Reforma din Germania" [What in Reality Was the Reformation in Germany], in "Probleme de istorie," 1958/2, p 116.
5. W. Lenk, "Die Reformation im zeitgenoessischen Dialog," [The Reformation in Contemporary Dialog] Berlin 1, 1968, p 13.
6. A. Meuzel, "Thomas Muntzer und seine Zeit," [Thomas Munzer and His Time] Berlin, pp 39-41.
7. W. Lenk, op. cit., p 13.
8. E. Booth, "Luther 1483-1546," Paris, 1934, pp 244-245.
9. M. Steinmetz, "Deutschland 1476-1648," Berlin, 1965, pp 184-188 and 198.
- 9bis. F. Engels, "The German Peasant War," Bucharest, 1958, p 58.

10. "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation" [To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation]; "Vorspiel von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche" [Prelude of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church]; "Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen" [On the Freedom of a Christian Person].
11. F. Engels, "Dezvoltarea socialismului de la utopia la stiinta" [The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science], in Marx-Engels, "Despre religie" [About Religion], Bucharest, 1963, p 259.
12. A.J. Toynbee, "Le changement et la tradition," Paris, 1969, p 144.
13. Ibidem, p 145; also see the political causes of the Reformation in A. Otetea, op. cit., pp 263-264.
14. R. Lind, "Luthers Stellung zum Kreuz und Turkenkrieg (Dissertation)" [Luther's Attitude Toward the Cross and the Turkish War], Giessen, 1940, p 30 and later.
15. "Von den Conciliis und Kirchen in Martin Luther Studienausgabe" [About the Concilii and Churches in Martin Luther Study Edition], V.K. Steck, Frankfurt am Main, 1970, p 303.
16. J. Delumeanu, op. cit., p 86. He gave another meaning to the term of Christianity, taken from the Catholics; he also recognized the necessity of uniting the Protestant churches, but only in a spiritual unity. See "Aus den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln" in "Luther Studienausgabe," p 294.
17. "Aus der Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen" [From the Warning to His Dear Germans], in "M. Luther Studienausgabe," p 242 and K.M. Seetton, "Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril," Balkan Studies, 1962/1, p 142.
18. "Aus der Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen" in loc. cit., p 237. Neither did Luther want his followers to be named "Lutherans," but rather "Christians." See "Von den Conciliis und Kirchen" in loc. cit., p 303. From this time, he used a political calculation. Christians, in the view of the time, had their legitimate right in society and a Lutheran was a heretic, in other words, outside society.
19. Ibidem, p 241.
20. Ibidem.
21. Ibidem, p 239. The idea of not submitting to unworthy principles did not appear for the first time with Luther. Luther, as well as other reformers, took up some of the theses of the medieval political views and adapted them to their ideology. In this case, the new facet appears to be the manner in which the attack is directed against the emperor himself, the political chief of the feudal pyramid.

22. H. Pfeffermann, "Die Zusammenarbeit der Renaissancepaepste mit dem Tuerken" [The Cooperation of the Renaissance Popes With the Turk] Zurich, 1946, p 160.
23. E. Leonard, "Historie generale du protestantisme," Vol I, Paris, 1961, p 80.
24. apud E. Leonard, ibidem. It is the first time when the freedom of conscience is mentioned, but which, after the diet of Augsburg (1555), the Protestants will deny.
25. "Aus der Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen" in loc. cit., p 240.
26. G. Zschabitz, "Martin Luther, Groesse und Grenze" [Martin Luther, Greatness and Limitation], 1. Teil, Berlin, 1967, p 190.
27. W. Lenk, op. cit., p 27.
28. G. Zschabitz, op. cit., pp 190-191.
29. E. Leonard, op. cit., pp 68, 78, 80.
30. Appeared in 1523. See "Luther Studienausgabe," p 163 and later.
31. "Die Reformation in Dokumenten" [The Reformation in Documents], Weimar, 1967, p 52, a letter from 1524.
- 31bis. The same Erasmus, in a letter addressed to Josse Jowas, blamed Luther because the brutality of his attacks had provoked a break with the Roman Church. At the same time, he felt that the true wisdom was to remain within the Catholic Church and to reform it from within, as Colet had done in France. "Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmus Rotterdam," Oxford, 1922, vol IV, pp 525-526.
32. A letter related by G. Zschabitz, op. cit., p 192.
33. Ibidem, pp 187-188 written in 1524.
34. M. Luther, "Eine Heerpredigt widder den Tuerken" [A Military Sermon Against the Turk], (1528), p 2.
35. K.M. Seetton, "Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril," "Balkan Studies," 1962/1, p 139, 142. Other humanists, Erasmus, for example, also proceeded in the same manner, comparing the Turks with the Christians and pointing out the moral qualities of the Turks.
36. "Aus der Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen," in loc. cit., p 241.
37. Ibidem, p 242.

38. H. Pfeffermann, op. cit., p 159.
39. K.M. Seetton, op. cit., p 144.
40. The letter in response to the correspondance "Excurge Domine," (1521) related in K.M. Seetton, op. cit., p 142.
41. K.M. Seetton, op. cit., p 144.
42. The letter from 1521, related in loc. cit., p 142.
43. Ibidem, p 143.
44. H. Pfeffermann, op. cit., p 169.
45. K.M. Seetton, op. cit., p 133.
46. Ibidem, p 140.
47. M. Luther, "Eine Heerpredigt wider den Turken," p 20.
48. The letter related in H. Pfeffermann, op. cit., p 163.
49. M. Luther, "Eine Heerpredigt wider den Turken," p 20.
50. Ibidem. Luther's view on war is similar to Erasmus' view.
51. F. Engels, "Razboiul taranesc german," p 59.
52. H.I. Kissling, "Tuerkenfurcht und Tuerkenhoffnung" [Fear and Hope of the Turk] in "15/16 Jahrhundert, Suedost-Forschungen," XXII 1964, p 14 and P. Pfefferman, op. cit., p 159, p 170.
53. The text presented in H. Pfeffermann, op. cit., p 165.
54. "Die Reformation in Dokumenten," p 51.
55. Michael Kohlhaas, a former cattle owner on the banks of the Havela, had suffered a great injustice at the hands of the noble Wenzel. Abusing the power that he had, this noble confiscated some of Kohlhaas' horses. What made Kohlhaas so indignant was not the loss he suffered, but the fact that by going through legal channels from one court to another he could not get satisfaction. Throughout his case, he came up against the people of his noble. Reality appeared to be something else in all its cruelty. In a conflict between a nobleman and a common man, right was always on the side of the nobleman. Kohlhaas decided to revolt. Hidden in the woods around Elba and together with other persecuted persons who had suffered similar fates, he attacked the rich. Soon, he became a true terror for the nobles.



56. "Fuenfzig deutsche Lutherbriefe" [Fifty German Letters From Luther], 1917, pp 53-54.
57. Erasmus of Rotterdam had the same attitude towards Kohlhaas. See "Opus Epistolarum Erasmi Roterodami," Oxford, 1928, vol III, p 380, the letter of April 1528 addressed to Kohlhaas.
58. F. Engels, "Razboiul taranescu german," p 63. For the German Peasant War and Muntzer's attitude also see L. Demeny, "Thomas Muntzer si razboiul taranesc german," from 1525, "Revista de istorie," 1975, no 8, p 1229. A. Armbruster, "Personalitatea lui Thomas Muntzer" [Thomas Muntzer's Personality], ibidem, pp 1215-1224.
59. F. Engels, "Razboiul taranesc german," p 56.
60. M. Steinmetz, "Thomas Muntzer in der Forschung der Gegenwart," [Thomas Muntzer in the Research of the Present] Zeitschrift fur Geschichtswissenschaft, 1975/6, p 674.
61. Ibidem, pp 679-680.
62. Muntzer's political doctrine was based on the idea of the sovereignty of the people, which sprang from the principle of social equality.
63. "M. Luther catre principi" [M. Luther Towards the Princes], a document presented in the annex to "Essai sur l'histoire universelle," Paris, 1883, p 510.
64. A.I. Morton, "Utopia engleza," Bucharest, 1958, p 40.
65. "The peasants completed 12 articles, including some containing such righteous demands that they disarm you...since they cover the princes in shame." (M. Luther care principi). Speaking of the 12 articles of Memmingen, 6 March 1526.
66. The correspondence between Counts Albert and Gebhard regarding the conflict, related in E. Booth, op. cit., pp 236-237.

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CONTRIBUTION OF SCIENCE TO DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, Jun 77 pp 6-11

/Article by academician Ion Ursu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology/

/Text/ A plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology was held recently. The proceedings opened in the enthusiastic and mobilizing atmosphere generated by the work meeting of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu with experts and executives from key branches of science, technology, and production in the attendance of the plenary session, on the occasion of the visit to the show of new products, technologies, and systems developed by Romanian scientific research and technological engineering. The discussions which followed examined the results obtained in the implementation of the plan for scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress for 1976 and the measures which should be taken for the ampler rise in the involvement of science and technology in precompleting the plan assignments for 1977 and for the 1978-1980 period and in solving the basic problems of the country's economic-social development in light of the Party Program and the Directives of the 11th Congress.

The visit of the party secretary general together with Elena Ceausescu and the other party and state executives to the show arranged during the plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology was another telling proof of the constant care and concern of our party and its leadership for the development and fuller and fuller assertion of Romanian science and technology in the great work for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and the country's advancing toward communism.

The participants in the plenary session voiced their firm devotion to the innovating ideas, of utmost significance for the building of the socialist present and communist future of the nation, firmly promoted by the beloved leader of our party and state in the theory

and practice of Romania's economic-social development and their ardent gratitude for the constant guidance and support they have been permanently receiving. They assured the party and state leadership that they will work with devotion and revolutionary ardor in order to implement the Program and Directives adopted by the 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

The 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party established that the achievement of the basic objectives of this and the next stages of Romania's economic-social development is directly and comprehensively tied in with the firm increase in the vanguard role of scientific research and technological engineering in introducing technical progress. "The rate and structural changes in economic development during the 1981-1990 period," the Directives of the 11th Party Congress point out, "further require the significant increase in the involvement of scientific research, of national technical creativity in the progress of all society."

The congress decided on stepping up the activity of scientific research and technological engineering in all sectors, ensuring its firm orientation toward resolving the specific present and future requirements of industry, agriculture, and the other economic branches. Special emphasis is placed on the better use of Romania's resources of raw materials and energy, on the modernization of technologies, the raising of the qualitative parameters of products and efficiency of machines and installations, and on the increase in the productivity of materialized labor. These factors will ensure greater national income and well-being for our entire socialist nation.

In setting these specific and strict tasks to science and technology in our country, party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu requested that the 1976-1980 period be a five-year plan of scientific-technical revolution in Romania, a five-year plan of top quality and efficiency in all the economic-social sectors. This 1976-1980 plan incorporates more than 700 complex objectives of scientific research and technological engineering and over 1,100 basic tasks for the introduction of technical progress, subordinated to economic and social development. Many of these will be implemented under this five-year plan and others will provide the reserve of new scientific-technical approaches for the objectives of the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan, which we are prefiguring during this period.

Under the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan Romania will turn out on the basis of its own research more than 80 percent of the new and redesigned machines and installations for whose production arrangements were made and manufacture started, more than 90 percent of the new and modernized materials, and 90 percent of the new or expanding technologies. In industry as a whole, the total

effects of the introduction of technical progress by 1980 will involve the turning out by the key branches of more than 45 percent of the value of industrial output on the basis of new and redesigned items whose production started under this five-year plan. In the key branches this percentage is far greater. In the chemical industry 86 percent of the volume of investments will be based on Romanian-devised new and redesigned technologies; in the machine building industry this proportion will be over 70 percent and in the consumer goods industry, about 60 percent. The new technologies which will be used in the chemical industry account for more than 30 percent of all new and refined technologies in the entire economy.

As pointed out during the proceedings of the National Council for Science and Technology, in 1976 alone production began of more than 1,750 types of machines, apparatus, and installations and approximately 850 materials and consumer goods. Moreover, used for the first time were 72 new production technologies, including 32 in units under the Ministry of Chemical Industry. Moreover, the sphere of application of another 73 improved technologies was expanded. The value of the new and redesigned products whose serial production began for the first time in 1976 in the industry of countrywide importance accounted for more than 15 percent of the total volume of the marketable output turned out, as compared to the planned level of 11 percent. The plan assignments in this area were completed by all ministries.

The achievements obtained in 1976 confirm the correctness and the realistic nature of the tasks outlined by the 11th Party Congress. Moreover, they prove the firm determination of workers in research, technological engineering, designing, production, and the other sectors of activity in applying the policy of our party and state. The central research institutes and the academies of sciences played an important role in obtaining the above-mentioned successes. Their involvement in the promotion of technical progress in the economic branches is growing every year. Steps were taken to more firmly promote and apply collective responsibility in completing the assignments of scientific research, of technological development and introduction of technical progress incorporated in plans and in carrying out the decisions and directives of the party and state leadership. Furthermore, progress has been made in formulating a unified concept of the tasks of scientific research, technological development and technical progress with direct impact on economic-social development. The integration of higher education into the activity of central research institutes, academies of sciences, and specialized units has been upgraded. Improvements have also been made in the activity of the National Council for Science and Technology. The council's ties with the ministries and the other central bodies and with the territorial units and staffs which effectively complete the tasks of research, technological engineering and application of the results of research and design in production have been strengthened.

Besides the significant accomplishments obtained in all economic branches and areas, in research and engineering there are still found some inadequately used reserves and some negative aspects which limit the contribution of science and technology to the most efficient achievement of the economic-social goals set. These deficiencies and reserves were pointed out by Nicolae Ceausescu at the 1976 and 1977 work meetings at the CC of the RCP with basic personnel in research, technological engineering, and designing and on other occasions and were widely discussed at the plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology.

Much of the responsibility for the shortcomings and deficiencies which are still found in the area of introduction of technical progress in economic branches lies with the research and engineering sectors which have not yet fully asserted their leading role in the development of the branches and renewal of production as requested by the party. Great responsibilities in correcting these deficiencies rest with the central research institutes, the academies of sciences, and the National Council for Science and Technology.

The party and state leadership has repeatedly indicated the need for taking firmer measures to improve the quality of all the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress and to enhance the strictness and responsibility of working people in these sectors in terms of fulfilling all the tasks allotted them.

The researchers, technological engineers, and designers need to take firmer action for the finalization of their work and for the introduction of the results of research and design into production. They must cooperate more closely with the manufacturing units. The research and engineering institutes are also allotted greater tasks in resolving the problems related to better organization of production. The institutes must take on greater and greater responsibilities for what is achieved in production and all social sectors. Furthermore, the ministries and the coordinating bodies must consult on a wider scale with the research and engineering units in order to make good use of the prospects of Romanian science and technology for ensuring the achievement of the goals involved in technical progress in the economic branches. Moreover, they must ensure full agreement between the research and engineering plans and the development plan of each branch, by increasingly using their scientific-technical potential for solving the problems in the areas of activity involved.

Highly responsible tasks are also allotted the National Council for Science and Technology, which must better fulfill its party-entrusted role in coordinating and effectively directing the activity of research, technological engineering, and introduction of

technical progress, more vigorously propelling the implementation of the research and development plans and programs on schedule and under the conditions established.

#### Work for Technical Progress Focused on Major Economic, Social Needs

At the show opened during the plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology, Nicolae Ceausescu examined some of the approaches developed by research and engineering for solving problems of material production under this five-year plan and gave directives and outlined measures with a specific character and of outstanding importance for the orientation of activities of technical progress in the economic branches. In light of these directives, the major common objectives of science, technology, and production in Romania involve the reduction of production materials expenditures, the better utilization of native raw materials and supplies, the use of all by-products which result from production processes, the tapping and utilization of new material resources in the economy, the production of new items with better features and of substitutes for materials in short supply, the development of effective technologies designed to significantly raise labor productivity, automation, and mechanization of operations, the better organization of production and work, the improvement of working conditions, and the full utilization of the production potential.

For instance, in the area of the mining industry, the party secretary general indicated that urgent measures be taken by the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum, and Geology and the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry to step up the projects for the implementation of the program for the development of the production of mining and dressing equipment and that an intensive activity be conducted to reduce the consumption of materials, fuel, and energy for the completion of the tasks outlined by the November 1976 Plenary Session of the CC of the RCP. Steps will be taken to increase the degree of utilization of mineral substances by a greater recovery of all useful elements and by the use of new material resources in economic processes. Decisions were also made to intensify and accelerate geological and geophysical work for the outlining of new prospective areas and for substantiating prospecting and exploration surveys.

In the area of power production, the most effective approaches will be finalized and applied promptly. They are designed to provide greater safety in the operation of power-producing facilities and lines for the transmission of electrical power. Moreover, measures will be taken to expedite the use of the approaches developed and designed to reduce loss in the electric power transmission network. Action will be taken to use all the hydroelectric power potential of the country by expanding the projects for the construction of hydroelectric power microstations.

As for the management and expansion of power resources, the directives involved a more profound study of the materials of analysis of territorial energy balances on the basis of specifying the relative consumption for each unit of product or technological process and the approaches to increasing the output and changing the structure of primary energy.

Prompt steps will also be taken so that at the end of the research and engineering stages all the achievements and projects in the area of new sources and energy carriers may be most rapidly used.

In the metallurgical industry firm action will be taken to increase the delivery rate and to obtain extra outputs of rolled steel. The rate of arrangement for the production of special steels will be stepped up. On the basis of a program, steps will be taken to upgrade the utilization of furnaces and the other facilities.

Engineering projects will be intensified in order to seek new approaches to recover secondary heat from burnt gas, slag, steel, rolled products, and so forth. Moreover, steps will be taken to promptly apply all the approaches which are designed to reduce fuel and electric energy consumption.

Cooperation will be extended with research and engineering units in the area of the chemical industry and building of equipment for steam power plants in order to make good use of low-grade coal in the production of reducing gases for furnaces. Measures will be taken for the wider use of furnace slag in the production of cement and other construction materials and in road building.

In the chemical industry, projects will be stepped up for a continuously greater resistance of rubber processed products needed for the machine building industry and other branches.

Furthermore, it has been decided to pay more attention to the use of natural resources for the overall utilization of the useful substances which they contain.

In the machine building industry, for the purpose of reducing the consumption of raw materials and supplies, steps will be taken to cut down the consumption of costly materials and materials in short supply in the electrical engineering and electronics industry. Furthermore, measures will be taken to increase the utilization rate of materials.

The proportion of new and redesigned products in the total value of production will increase by 1980 to 65 percent in the area of machine-tools, to 75-80 percent in the area of computer technology, and to 95 percent in the area of adjustable electrical operation.

Steps will be taken to provide the economy with Romanian-made equipment so as to meet in this manner most of the needs of automation facilities, the domestic needs for ordinary electronic measurement and control equipment, and to provide the economy with radiocommunication equipment, facilities for computer technology, numerical control equipment, and medical electronic installations.

A program will be worked out and submitted for arrangement for the production of new power-producing equipment with parameters on a par with top technology, for the purpose of saving great amounts of fuel and metal and especially for recovering secondary power resources. The research and engineering program will be stepped up in order to raise the efficiency of thermal engines and to significantly reduce fuel consumption.

In the area of new technologies it was decided to step up the projects for new applications of nonconventional processing in the production of dies and parts and the development of industrial production lines for this purpose.

Furthermore, it was decided to take prompter action for the serial production of prototypes which have proved their usefulness for our economy.

In the light industry, for the purpose of diversification and meeting the needs of all economic branches in terms of textile technical items, a program of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress along the entire cycle, up to introduction in current production, will be worked out. Special emphasis will be placed on the wide-scale use of modern technologies of nonconventional spinning of cotton- and wool-type fibers with domestic-made equipment and production of footwear in order to significantly upgrade labor productivity, quality, and esthetic appearance.

In agriculture and food industry, firm action will be taken to rapidly use the results of research and engineering in the fields of plant and animal output and the food industry (modern agricultural procedures, use of better strains of plants and breeds of animals, crop maintenance systems, and so forth). In this sector also, every step will be taken to reduce the consumption of raw materials and supplies and especially electrical energy and fuel.

In the area of construction, the cooperation between builder units and the units making building materials will be intensified in order to more expeditiously solve the problems which crop up. This is aimed at completing the greater volume of construction and assembly in the present and future periods.



The program for reducing the consumption of raw materials, fuel and energy will be expedited. In this context, activities will be accelerated for determining systems and equipment for automatic control of temperature in buildings and, in conjunction with the manufacturing ministries, to immediately begin producing this equipment.

In transportation, action will be taken to further materialize the results obtained by research workers and engineers in the field of installations for automatic control and signalling of train traffic at and between railroad stations and of other achievements designed to continuously modernize railroad transportation and transportation as a whole. Moreover, immediate measures will be taken to supplement and implement the program for reducing the consumption of materials, fuel and electrical power.

In the area of nuclear physics and energy steps will be taken to implement the program of applications of nuclear technology in the economic and social sectors. Together with research and engineering in the chemical industry, machine building, metallurgy, and other economic factors, expeditious action will be taken in terms of submitting the research and engineering programs for the area of materials and substitutes in the electronics, electrical engineering, and other sectors and for the areas of analysis, measurement, and control apparatus, seismological equipment, and so on.

In mathematics and cybernetics, the program of basic and applied research in the mathematical field will be expedited. This program focuses on solving problems relating to the development of economic branches and subbranches. Action will be taken to increase the degree of integration of mathematical research into the engineering and production activities. Furthermore, the program will be accelerated for finalizing the economic use of computer techniques and cybernetic systems, specifically in controlling industrial processes and sophisticated sectors.

In the area of biology, the directives urge the further development of the orientation of research and biological applications toward elucidating basic phenomena and mechanisms and formulating, on this basis, new methods, procedures, and technologies for some industrial branches, agriculture, and medicine, with impact on the better use of natural resources, wastes, and by-products, environmental protection, and selection and improvement of crops.

The cooperation with the Central Institute for Chemistry and the research and engineering units in agriculture and food industry will be extended on the basis of a program.

## Programs for More Rapid Economic-Social Growth

Taking into consideration the deficiencies which are still found as well as the objectives and tasks of this stage and the party decisions and directives received, the National Council for Science and Technology, in conjunction with the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Technical and Material Supplies and Management of Fixed Assets, and the other ministries and central bodies, on the basis of the proposals which resulted from the work meetings of the central research institutes, academies of sciences, and specialized units, formulated a set of measures to upgrade the plan and activity for the subsequent period.

Discussing the proposals involved, the plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology paid special attention to the measures to significantly reduce the consumption of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and energy.

In conformance with the measures and tasks outlined, in whose finalization a major role was played by the party county, municipal, and town committees and the party committees in enterprises and economic units, the program for cutting down consumption levels will be principally based on new technologies and products and on the upgrading of existing technologies and redesigning of inadequate products.

Furthermore, the plenary session approved a program for the management and development of power resources. For the 1977-1980 period and subsequently, the program provides for the completion of research, engineering, designing, investment, and production projects chiefly aimed at reducing consumption levels as a result of wiser use of energy and fuel and the exploration and utilization of new sources of energy.

In the context of the outstanding tasks outlined by the party and state leadership with regard to the reduction of the production materials expenditure based on the significant decrease in the consumption of raw materials, supplies, fuel, and energy, and on the expeditious elimination of the aftermaths of the terrible earthquake of 4 March 1977, the plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology discussed and endorsed the collective pledge of all researchers, designers, workers, and technicians in the network of scientific research, technological engineering, and technical progress. Enthusiastically responding to the joint decision of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Grand National Assembly, and the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development of 29 March 1977 for the implementation of the program for the country's economic and social growth and for improving the people's standard of living, the workers in the

network of scientific research, technological engineering and technical progress pledged to give every support to the efforts made by all the nation to ensure the more rapid development of the country and to additionally boost output above the five-year plan provisions.

Inspired by the brilliant example provided by Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, by their untiring activity conducted during the hard times which the country experienced, the researchers, designers, engineers, workers, technicians, all the people who are active in this branch firmly pledged to implement a program which involves the reduction of the expenditures specified in the 1977 plan for the activity of research and development; the reexamination of the investment funds assigned under the plan for the purpose of reducing them, with the resulting sums going to the completion of projects required by the repairing of units damaged by the earthquake and to the acquisition of materials, parts, and sub-assemblies needed for completing the tasks of introducing technical progress; as early as in 1977 finding approaches to objectives and tasks of research, engineering, and technical progress which will ensure the obtaining of products, materials, operating techniques, projects, and other factors needed to reduce the damage caused by the earthquake in the economic units of the branch and which will be subsidized from available sums. These sums will result from the reduction of the expenditures envisioned in the original plan, concurrently with the full implementation of the plan for the introduction of technical progress for 1977 on the average 1-3 months ahead of schedule. The effects of the application of these measures involve savings estimated at about 1 billion lei.

Another major facet of the programs outlined involves the better utilization of domestic raw materials and supplies and of wastes and by-products resulting from production processes. For instance, tasks were outlined for identifying new natural resources and better using these resources. These tasks involve utilizing some deposits of nonferrous ore and some poor iron ore; using some new coal and shale mining techniques; mining and dressing techniques at new ore deposits, and so forth. This will result in the determination and utilization of important extra reserves of raw materials and fuel.

Steps to increase the level of utilization of wastes will include the diversification of the production of chipboard and fiberboard, the utilization of wastes resulting from the use of shale as raw material in the production of building materials, and so on.

Another major goal involves the production of substitutes of raw materials and materials in short supply, the wider use of resins and plastics for which the plan incorporates many tasks. These tasks include: turning out new types of construction elements out of plastics, characterized by better features, which will result

in lower consumption of lumber and steel; production of industrial cabins and roofs out of glass fiber reinforced polyesters; diversification of the types of poromeric synthetic leather, and so forth.

In line with the instructions of the party and state leadership with regard to considerably upgrading the economic and social activities, objectives were incorporated into the plans of research, engineering and technical progress, which are aimed at raising the impact of technical progress on greater labor productivity to more than 50 percent by the end of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan.

Taking into consideration that research and engineering must be basic factors of solving the various problems of reducing materials expenditure, of eliminating loss, of increasing profitability, and of applying advanced forms and methods of management and organization, tasks were outlined which focus on introducing new methods of organization of production and work.

For the purpose of accomplishing the goals of the economic-social development plan on the basis of more intensive use of the domestic resources and the broader and broader potentials provided by the domestic production, measures were outlined for the production of new types of machines and installations and consumer goods and the upgrading of a number of existing products as a result of redesigning.

In order to increase the volume and quality of exports, tasks were outlined which will result in the domestic production of a number of items characterized by internationally competitive technical-economic parameters.

It is known that all the policy of our party and state focuses on concern for the individual, who is the determining factor of the entire social development. This has resulted in the allotment of major tasks to research and development in order to ensure health care and the protection of labor and the environment. Consequently, the research-development plans contain objectives which involve determining the influence of some environmental factors on the human body, diversifying and expanding the production of pharmaceuticals, formulating methods, techniques, and suggestions for measures in order to prevent, detect, and combat major diseases, control and reduce water and air pollution, and so on.

#### Better Use of Scientific and Technological Potential

Working for the exemplary completion of all the tasks set under the plan and of the pledges taken for 1977 and the 1978-1980 period, the National Council for Science and Technology, in close cooperation with the ministries, the other central organs, the central research institutes and the academies of sciences, developed a number of projects designed to provide the conditions under which research and

engineering may be ahead of and generate the growth of production and of the other branches of social activities. In completing these projects emphasis was placed on Nicolae Ceausescu's directives of great theoretical and practical value. He assessed that "as is natural, research must be a step ahead. It must not only solve the problems of the specific implementation of the five-year plan and of the annual plans but must also tackle new, long-range problems, in order to orient and provide the basis for the preparation of future plans for economic-social development, in order to place all the development of our society on the foundation of the most advanced science and technology."

In conjunction with the ministries and the other central bodies, with the central research institutes and the academies of sciences, research projects were completed for substantiating the forecasting estimates for the development of science and technology in the branches and fields by the year 2000 (2010) and for synthesis of specialized forecasting estimates.

In the current form, most of the research projects for the substantiation of the forecasting estimates in branches and fields incorporate a large amount of problems and data which already underlie the supplementing of some provisions of the annual plans under this five-year plan and the preparation and substantiation of the draft five-year plan for the 1981-1985 period.

The major results obtained in research, engineering, and the introduction of technical progress, supplemented with the orientations anticipated for the future have created favorable conditions for Romania's greater involvement in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and spiritual values with other countries in the areas of science and technology, for the assertion, in this manner also, of new, democratic relations among states, for the promotion and establishment of a new world economic order.

Within the framework of the cooperation documents signed with various countries, under the program of cooperative projects between Romania and other states in the areas of science and technology for the 1977-1980 period, agreement was reached on more than 400 cooperation objectives. These objectives are aimed at directly helping to complete major tasks of research, development and technical progress under the Coordinated National Plan and the development programs of economic branches and subbranches.

Focusing on the tasks of upgrading the plan and increasing the efficiency of the activity of research, development and introduction of technical progress for 1977 and the 1978-1980 period, the central research institutes, the academies of sciences, and the National

Council for Science and Technology also developed and completed other projects which had an impact on the better utilization of the material base and of manpower.

In close cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Teaching, with other ministries and central bodies, activities were conducted for a more rapid and closer blending of education with research and production. Consequently, as early as in 1976, a program was developed for including all students and teachers of higher education facilities in the plans for research, development, and introduction of technical progress of central research institutes, academies of sciences, and specialized institutes.

For the purpose of providing a unified legal framework for the development of research and engineering and of establishing principles which would result in the more and more effective utilization of the scientific and technical potential, a draft bill on research, engineering, and the introduction of technical progress was worked out. Moreover, a draft bill was worked out on the creation and introduction of new products and technologies in production. This will ensure a unified concept for the coordination of the activity of introducing technical progress and turning out new items and technologies.

In light of the major role of standardization in renewing production and in providing a higher technical level to output, steps were taken to prepare a draft bill which proposes regulations on introducing and disseminating technical progress, improving the quality and competitive character of products, cutting down consumption levels and operating costs in accordance with the progress made by science and technology on a national and world scale.

Measures were taken for a better and more rapid use of patented Romanian inventions.

The sophisticated work of research workers and technological experts in solving economic and social problems and the constantly growing needs in this area require the upgrading of the provisions of the Statute for the Organization of the Activity and the Promotion of Research and Engineering Personnel for its adaptation for a longer period. In this connection, the plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology examined proposals from all central research institutes, academies of sciences, specialized institutes, and ministries.

Our party and people have provided all the conditions for the outstanding progress of research and development.

We have wonderful people, experts of a high moral-political and professional standing, and this provides the guarantee that our programs, plans, and pledges can be successfully implemented. Our

researchers, engineers, and specialists -- of Romanian, Hungarian, German, and other nationalities -- have enthusiastically devoted all their work capability and professional talent to the economic and social progress of Romania. The party and state leadership gives us constant attention and support. Hence, we are allotted the task of mobilizing all our energies in order to exemplarily fulfill the plan for 1977 and for the 1978-1980 period, of turning every accomplished goal into a highly efficient result economically and socially, of transforming Romanian science and technology into basic factors of economic renewal, of the growth of the national income, of the strengthening of the country's economic independence, now, when we are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the proclamation of state independence, of the implementation of the Party Program for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

Our experts and executives, all workers in research, development, and introduction of technical progress pledge to untiringly carry out their tasks in this stage and further for the materialization of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party. We also pledge to make the outstanding instructions and directives given by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu during the plenary session of the National Council for Science and Technology the major landmarks of our program of activity during the next period, so that the results of our work may be equal to the conditions and trust we enjoy.

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## ROMANIA

### ROMANIAN REVIEW HONORS TITO ON JUBILEE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, Jun 77 pp 44-45

/Text/ Communists, the peoples of Yugoslavia celebrated a doubly glorious jubilee on 25 May 1977: the 85th birthday of Iosip Broz Tito, the President of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and chairman of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia and his 40th anniversary as the head of the party of Yugoslav communists.

The Romanian people wholeheartedly participated in this great celebration -- an expression of the close relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity between our parties, states, and peoples. The message of greetings sent by Nicolae Ceausescu to Iosip Broz Tito on this occasion expressed the feelings of esteem, appreciation, and high consideration of communists, working people, and the entire Romanian nation for the tested leader of the Yugoslav working class and peoples, outstanding fighter of the international communist and working-class movement, and prestigious personality of present-day political life.

A political leader with outstanding qualities, Iosip Broz Tito has dedicated his entire life to the cause of the social and national emancipation of the peoples of his country and to the cause of socialism and communism. His tireless work at the head of the party and, later, of the Yugoslav state made its mark -- as a result of his strength and dynamism -- in a whole era of Yugoslavia's history.

Under Tito's leadership, the communist, revolutionary vanguard of the Yugoslav working class has reinforced the unity of its ranks, has developed and strengthened, and has continuously enhanced its capacity of organizing and leading the mass of the people. During the years of World War II, the peoples of Yugoslavia, led by the party of communists, with its secretary general at its head, added pages of legendary heroism and valor to the history of the fight to oust Hitler invaders and to safeguard the freedom and independence of their homeland. Headed by its supreme commander, Iosip Broz Tito, the Yugoslav national liberation army won a brilliant



victory in the war against the occupationists and was a major factor of the full defeat of fascism.

Taking their fate into their own hands, the peoples of Yugoslavia, headed by the communists, embarked upon the road of carrying out profound revolutionary transformations. Tito's fruitful activity is inextricably tied in with the successes obtained during the post-war years in the economic and social development of the country, in the building up of the socialist society, and in the erection and consolidation of the Yugoslav new socialist state, a powerful, free, and independent state. Entrusted with the highest party and state duties, Iosip Broz Tito has during these years conducted an ample theoretical and practical activity, making an outstanding contribution to the creative application of the general Marxist principles under the specific conditions of Yugoslavia.

Closely rallied around the party of Yugoslav communists and Iosip Broz Tito, the peoples of Yugoslavia have succeeded in overcoming many internal and external difficulties, have successfully coped with great trials, and have defended with courage and dignity the national independence and sovereignty of their homeland and their right to decide their own destiny without any foreign interference, in accordance with their own aspirations and interests.

The recent period has been very rich in outstanding political events in the life of the party and all the society in Yugoslavia. During these years -- marked by the decisions of the 10th Congress of the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia -- the peoples of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of communists, of Iosip Broz Tito, have won added successes in the development of the economy, science and culture and in the strengthening of the new society, of the unity and cohesion of the peoples and nationalities of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The leading role of the working class and of its party in all areas of social life has strengthened, the ideological-political unity and capacity of action of the Union of Communists have consolidated, and the activity of socialist, revolutionary education of working people, of the great mass of the people, has been stepped up. Moreover, in close connection with its internal successes, Yugoslavia has diversified and broadened its foreign relations, asserting itself as an active factor of international life.

Tito has played a major role in the formulation and promotion of the principles which underlie the foreign policy and the entire activity of socialist Yugoslavia in the international arena, an activity placed at the service of peace, understanding, and co-operation among all nations and peoples.

It is known that Yugoslavia, a founder of the nonalignment movement -- a movement which is a more and more important factor on the international scene -- is actively involved in the fight of

peoples for peace, national independence and progress, and for the settlement of the complex problems which today face mankind. Yugoslavia is a consistent fighter for the abolition of the imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policy, of the anarchistic policy of force, diktat, and aggression, and for the creation of a new world economic and political order, capable of ensuring the free and unhampered development of each people and a durable security and lasting peace in the world. In this connection we must point out President Tito's role in the assertion of the new principles of interstate relationships, in the democratization of international relations on the basis of respect for peoples' right to independent development. I. B. Tito stated: "The principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, noninterference, territorial integrity, and so forth must be absolutely observed in the relations among all states. Their violation cannot be justified by any kind of political, ideological or any other motivations." "The affairs of the world community must involve all countries, regardless of their power and size, because this is their inalienable right and a condition for the maintenance of world peace."

Great credit also goes to I. B. Tito for the promotion and assertion of new principles in the relations among communist and workers' parties, in the strengthening of their international cooperation and solidarity -- on the basis of full equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for each party's right to determine its policy in accordance with the specific conditions under which it conducts its activity -- and in the development of the unity of action of all revolutionary, progressive, and anti-imperialist forces.

Iosip Broz Tito, a close friend of the Romanian people, has played a major role in the development of the relations of multilateral cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and between our peoples related by old traditions of neighborliness and friendship. Under socialism these relations have amply developed, have reached a higher level, and provide an example of relationships between two socialist, sovereign, and equal countries, which are inspired by the desire to cooperate closely for the sake of progress and prosperity.

Speaking about Tito's role in the development of these relations, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "I. B. Tito's activity began in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and he has devoted all his life to the working class and peoples of Yugoslavia, to communism. While serving the interests of the Yugoslav peoples and communism in Yugoslavia he has played a great role in placing the relations between the Romanian people and the Yugoslav peoples on new foundations. We, Romanians, know him as a firm and stalwart fighter for

socialism, for communism, and for relations of full equality among parties and peoples." In the same context, Iosip Broz Tito, indicating that "the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia can be used as an example of cooperation between countries", placed special emphasis on "the personal merits of Nicolae Ceausescu for this type of relations and for the great role played not only in socialist construction in Romania but also in the assertion of equality in interstate relations, in better understanding among nations, and in the strengthening of peace."

The fraternal feelings of warm solidarity which inspire the two peoples have been firmly expressed at the friendly meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Iosip Broz Tito. These meetings have become current procedures in the relationship between the two parties and states. By their fruitful results, each of these meetings have played a significant role in strengthening the relations between our parties and peoples and have dynamized and constantly broadened the prospects of Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation in all areas -- political, economic, and technical-scientific -- and in the international arena.

The Yugoslav visit of Nicolae Ceausescu in September 1976 was a new and very fruitful episode in the development of Romanian-Yugoslav relations. As a result of the talks conducted on this occasion between Nicolae Ceausescu and Iosip Broz Tito, outstanding documents were signed: the Joint Romanian-Yugoslav Declaration and the Agreement on the Further Use of the Hydroelectric Power Potential of the Danube. These documents forcefully evidence the continuous development of the friendship and solidarity between the two parties and the intensive cooperation between our countries and peoples.

By closely cooperating in building the socialist society in their countries, the parties and governments in Romania and Yugoslavia are also developing their cooperation on an international scale. Romania and Yugoslavia make sustained efforts so that the forthcoming Belgrade meeting may reach common agreement toward materializing the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, toward ensuring security, peace, and cooperation in Europe. Our states firmly work for the democratization of international relations, for the establishment of a new world economic and political order, and for the settlement of the problems of disarmament and the enhancement of the role of the United Nations.

Firmly based on the strict observance of the principles of new-type relations among socialist countries, the friendship and cooperation between Romania and Yugoslavia fully conform to the interests of successfully building socialism in the two countries, to the interests of the unity of socialist countries, and to the cause of peace and progress in Europe and throughout the world.

The 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party expressed the determination of our party and state to do their utmost in order to continuously strengthen the friendship and fraternal solidarity of the Romanian Communist Party and the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, and of the peoples of Romania and Yugoslavia. The message sent by Nicolae Ceausescu to Iosip Broz Tito stated: "I express my firm belief that in the future too the good relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia will increasingly diversify and strengthen in the interest of our peoples and of the cause of socialism and peace in the world."

On the occasion of the glorious jubilee, the Romanian communists and all our people convey to Iosip Broz Tito the heartiest greetings and wishes for good health, long life, and further successes in all his activity, and also send warm fraternal greetings to the peoples of Yugoslavia.

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DANGERS OF PSEUDOCRITICISM OF LITERARY WORKS CITED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 11 Aug 77 p 3

[Article by Francisc Parcurariu: "Criticism and Pseudocriticism"]

[Excerpts] One could say that we have several critics of indubitable worth, distinguished by judicious, objective activity, placed, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, in the service of Romanian literature. But the weight of their presence in active literary life, from day to day, in the literary press, in the severe, careful, and very honest critical examination of the current literary production is less than one would expect. An explanation of this phenomenon is probably the fact that many of our esteemed critics are university scholars who are absorbed by their specialized concerns and, to a certain extent, especially inclined toward synthesis.

On the other hand, we meet critics who moan in public about the quantity of books received, as if their activity did not arise from the command of a passion but was a fatiguing burden. The inadequate presence of our criticism situated on well established aesthetic positions, capable of distinguishing between values and nonvalues, the fatigue manifested by it have contributed to the mad rush to newspapers and literary reviews on the part of too many obscure publicists, improvized into literary critics, lacking a firm theoretical and philosophical perspective, aesthetic concepts and methods and -- why not say it? -- basic culture. They are persons whose "value judgments" depend too frequently on group interests and schemes, on likes and dislikes, and who produce, in a free and easy manner, intricate and pretentious phrases, painfully elaborated in a strange Franco-Romanian dialect, falsifying the scenery of Romanian writing today, singing praises to books which have been failures or have been exiled, thus seeking to impose, by means of a well-directed choir, impostors and pseudovalues.

As a result of the lamentable proliferation of this pseudocriticism, it would seem that the writings which are most extensively commented upon, examined in more and more aspects, praised with recklessness, and placed alongside the great works of our literature and of foreign literature

have not always been the most worthwhile writings, with the most substance, most vitally connected with the human problems of our times or the most interesting works from an aesthetic point of view.

The problem of the proliferation of imposture in criticism is more dangerous than it might appear at first sight. By attempting to impose false values, books devoid of substance and depth, pseudocriticism distorts an axiological hierarchy. But this aspect is perhaps the least important because a worthwhile book remains an objective reality which time will put in its proper place even if it did not get the reception it deserved at the time it was published. The major danger represented by the proliferation of pseudocriticism lies in the influence which the distortion of criteria for evaluation can exercise upon the young writers, deceiving them with false values presented as models worthy of emulation, and the influence which it can have upon the readers, robbing them of the opportunity to verify their impressions and to learn how to distinguish value from nonvalue.

In the formation and affirmation of the literature of a period filled with such great human problems, such as the period in which we live, the eclipsing of true, exacting, competent, criticism, conscious of its major functions, by a harmful pseudocriticism constitutes a phenomenon which merits greater attention than the amused smile with which we generally view it.

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## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

GREETINGS ON NATIONAL DAY--To his excellency Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On behalf of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, I have the pleasure of conveying to you heartfelt congratulations and wishes for the friendly Romanian people's happiness, progress, and prosperity on the occasion of your country's national day. [Signed] Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, leader of the great 1 September revolution and of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 77 p 4 AU] To his excellency, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On behalf of the Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia, and myself personally, I wish to address fraternal greetings and heartfelt congratulations to your excellency, and through you to the people and government of the Socialist Republic of Romania on this happy occasion of your country's national day. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my best wishes for the continuous well-being of your excellency, and for the progress, happiness, and prosperity of the friendly Romanian people. With the highest respect, [signed] Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 77 p 5 AU] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the 33rd anniversary of Romania's liberation from fascist domination, the AKEL Party Central Committee conveys to you, the RCP and the friendly Romanian people, warmest congratulations and best wishes for new successes in building socialism and a happy life. [signed] Ezekias Papaioannou, AKEL general secretary. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 77 p 4 AU]

DEATH OF OFFICIAL--The Feneser family announces the death on 12 July 1977 of Gheorghe Feneser, inspector general for hunting in the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials and president of the General Association of Sports Hunters and Fishermen. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Jul 77 p 6]

DEATH OF ACADEMICIAN--The Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, and the Academy of Medical Sciences announce with deep sorrow the death of Academician Aurel Moga, an important personality in science and higher medical education in Romania. Academician Professor Aurel Moga, president

of the Academy of Medical Sciences, died on 19 August. Aurel Moga was born on 1 November 1903 in Vestem, near Sibiu. He carried on a rich teaching and scientific activity in Cluj. He was elected member of the [present-day] Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1955. In 1969, he was elected member of the Academy of Medical Sciences and also president of this scientific body. He was a member of numerous scientific societies and academies abroad and was a member of the Consultative Committee for Scientific Research of the World Health Organization. Aurel Moga had positions of responsibility in the state and public sphere. He was minister of health, president of the Academy of Medical Sciences, and deputy in a number of legislatures of the Grand National Assembly. He was a member of the Romanian Communist Party since 1947 and was elected candidate member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party at the 10th party congress. [Excerpts]  
[Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Aug 77 p 5]

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### RELIGIOUS, NATIONAL HOLIDAYS CONTRASTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1377, 29 May 77  
p 14

[Text] We are pleased to report that two solemn celebrations were successfully conducted on the same day but for two different reasons in Kotor and Herceg-Noví.

One of these was held in commemoration of the 1 May International Anniversary of the events that took place in Chicago in 1886 when workers put forth their demands for an 8 hour workday and when the police provoked a bloody slaughter of the workers five of whom were later condemned to death. The sentence was pronounced in the manner of all sentences at that time, namely, "by the authority of the law and in the name of our Lord." Whether the judge was acting on such high authority is not for us, laymen, to confirm or dispute but considering the immense charity of the Lord we tend to suspect he did. However, this assertion has never been denied by the Church. In any case, this is an occasion for historical reminiscences that could carry us all the way to World War II and it would be a sad story indeed.

#### Another Saint

The other celebration also held on 1 May had no connection with those profane demands of the workers in Chicago. It was devoted to the higher spheres of divine grace.

The event that was celebrated in Kotor and Herceg-Noví on that day was the decision handed down from the highest authority advancing or promoting--we hope that use of this mundane term will not offend as not the slightest detraction is intended and that it will be charitably attributed to our ignorance and never to an ill intent--to the state of beatification the Franciscan, Leopold Mandić who was born in the vicinity of Herceg-Noví. That becoming a saint in this harsh world is not a simple matter is shown by the example of Leopold Mandić, now blessed, as well as by the cases of all his fellow saints. They, too, were first declared blessed, which is

tantamount to being admitted to the candidacy for the sainthood, and only subsequently, within a year, canonized. The same is likely to happen with the blessed Leopold next year. Perhaps it will be again on 1 May. Only then he will attain all the rights and privileges to which a saint is entitled.

To the Glory of God and in the Interest of the Church

Why did this important celebration, this exalted religious event have to take place precisely on 1 May, the International Labor Day, which is observed as a state holiday in this country?

If this question is not too naive with respect to our limited experience and recollection, an answer to it can be found.

According to documentation an important event occurred by the will of the Divine Grace and for the benefit of the Holy Church in the life of Leopold Mandic precisely on 1 May of all God given days on Earth which, of course, is perfectly possible.

It seems that this is an important opportunity for us to draw attention to the increased interest shown by the highest offices of the Church in Rome in the course of its holy mission in our lands.

In the last two or three years, according to data published in the religious press, four of our compatriots, three men and one woman, were either canonized or beatified.

Let us conclude this chapter with a remark on miracles in which we who observe the workers' May Day do not believe. We do not believe but they nevertheless occur.

Who in that fatal year in Chicago or at any time during World War II--particularly in this country in view of our experiences--could imagine that some day, and precisely on 1 May at that, would somehow be sanctified in connection with St Leopold and his merits, that the very same May Day would be recorded with red letters in the calendar of the Holy Church? And precisely this has happened.

#### The Celebration

In accordance with our constitution and laws which guarantee freedom of religion no one put up obstacles to the preparations for the celebration or during its course. On the contrary, the representatives of the Church were afforded every facility they needed to conduct their celebration. The hotels in Herceg-Noví booked reservations for guests who were expected to come. In addition to the ecclesiastic dignitaries from the neighboring Italy more than 1,000 believers also attended. The organizers encountered no difficulties in chartering numerous busses with which they transported

the faithful to Kotor and back while the authorities did everything possible so that the event and the procession could unfold in a peaceful and orderly manner without a single incident or misunderstanding.

The Church held a banquet and several formal receptions for its dignitaries in the best dining halls in town. In addition, Petar Stijepcic, president of the opstina community, acting as a host, gave a reception for the ecclesiastic luminaries.

This, of course, is nothing unusual for men of good will. The tolerance of our laws for religious and other feelings of our citizens is well known. This principle was scrupulously observed even during the revolution when some priests participated in the war of national liberation with full recognition of their ecclesiastic rank. In these parts, for instance, Don Niko Lukovic, a well known patriot, was one of the priests who participated in the war of national liberation. We mention his name although he had so far not been beatified. As a matter of fact, he was not a saint. All his life he was very troubled which those who are familiar with his life do not find strange at all.

However, let us return to the celebration.

#### The Gathering of Dignitaries

In addition to some 5,000 rank-and-file believers and guests from Italy, the celebration was attended by Cardinal Seper as representative of the Holy See, six bishops, and the local clergy.

In addition, the metropolitan Danilo of Montenegro as well as some Serbian orthodox priests also attended. Metropolitan Danilo gave an inspired speech at the banquet in which he said that brotherly love and respect had always been nurtured between the believers of various faiths under these auspicious skies.

The celebration unfolded in perfect order. The night descended on the opstinas of Kotor and Herceg-Noví basking in moonlight and grace.

In describing how every effort was made to meet the wishes of the religious celebration's organizers we said that all their requests were granted. One of them, however, was not.

According to the organizer's plans all buses were to be decorated with ecclesiastic relics and banners marked with inscriptions showing where the believers came from and how many of them there were--there is never enough of competitive spirit!

Because such procedure is contrary to transportation safety, the organizers were requested to refrain from carrying out this plan. Moreover, the

organizers wanted to carry at the head of the procession a picture of Leopold Mandic, now blessed, 6 x 4 meters in size which, too, was unacceptable for the reasons stated above.

The celebration was thus carried out in perfect order and in a manner prescribed by the ecclesiastic rules.

This, of course, does not mean that our people in Herceg-Novi and Kotor were overjoyed to have this celebration held precisely on 1 May. However, our people understand what tolerance and respect for the rights and liberties of others mean and they naturally accord these to everybody, including the believers.

Moreover, this year Kotor and Herceg-Novi celebrated that other, original 1 May richly and with imagination. There were illuminations for the occasion, people's rejoicing in the city squares, entertainment for young people, concerts, outings and trips attended by tens of thousands of citizens.

To each his own.

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END